

School of Management

The socio-political construction and experience of corporate social responsibility (CSR): An investigation into the conflict surrounding the James Price Point LNG precinct, Kimberley, Western Australia

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Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

Signature: 

Date: 30/09/2013

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Abstract

Recent decades have witnessed a growing interest in, and debate on, doing business the ‘right’ way. While there is a large array of terminologies within the literature addressing this ethical space, I have employed ‘Corporate Social Responsibility’ (CSR) as the umbrella term to capture this longstanding and constantly evolving conversation about the role and responsibility of business in society. In this thesis, I support the view that CSR is a political phenomenon, subject to power asymmetries and underlying forces operating at the level of the political economy, as argued by leading scholars of the critical research agenda for CSR. Consequently, it is suggested that CSR is demonstrated to be more complex, loaded, dynamic and problematic than is acknowledged by the mainstream research. In particular, critical gaps exist – *inter alia* – on questions about the dominant values CSR promotes and how these play out at the receiving end of CSR practice.

Accordingly, in this thesis, I have proposed what I refer to as the ‘spaces of CSR’ framework: a new theoretical positioning for CSR. The argument presented suggests that CSR should be conceived as being embedded within *relational space*, ever unfolding, “constituted through a very large number of spaces, discursive, emotional, physical, natural, organisational, technological and institutional” (Rose 1999, 248). By re-positioning CSR not as a simple business tool left to the discretion of managers, but as representing a space of a relational unfolding, this new framework also looks critically at CSR, both in policy and practice, from two key perspectives:

1) *Governmentality*: the array of techniques, institutions, technologies of power, discourses and rationalities underlying the conduct of government in support of particular interests over others.

2) *Spatiality*: how social, economic, political and ecological relations interact across multiple scales creating imagined and constituted ‘spaces’ and ‘places’.

The ‘spaces of CSR’ framework provides the tools necessary to identify often invisible CSR problems and challenges and to find alternative pathways along which

to move forward. In this thesis, the framework is used to explore the discursive, political, institutional and spatial forces that exist within the political economy of CSR. In particular, the power of this framework in making visible the dominant assumptions, prejudices and limitations of CSR has been demonstrated with the application of a case study methodology.

The case of the formerly proposed LNG processing precinct at James Price Point in the Kimberley, Western Australia (WA) – with the State Government and Woodside Energy as proponents – gives revealing insight into the way CSR is shaped and defined by various forces, flows and politics within the political economy, and how CSR is experienced varyingly among the community at the local level. Due to the ethos of this investigation, the philosophical position of critical realism is adopted because of its commitment to expose underlying forces and interlocking causes – whether social, economic, political or personal – which have given rise to certain events and discourses. Similarly, a qualitative methodology is used to reveal the underlying complexity of CSR. The analysis relies on a range of interconnected and interpretive tools, namely, observational evidence, document review and semi-structured, in-depth interviews. These tools have helped reveal the varied and complex pieces of CSR policy and practice with the necessary depth, breadth and richness. Informed by the principles of critical discourse analysis (CDA), the interconnections between power, discourse and social reality were also captured.

By these exploratory methods, a politico-economic history defined by mining magnates, mining aspirations and big-picture thinking is revealed as background to the empirical findings of the case. The current WA Liberal-National State Government is openly and strongly focused on the path of economic development – especially that of resource development. The analysis also gave insight into a number of forces and relations that exist to converge across various scales and define a particular space-time arrangement, in this instance, the James Price Point case.

The second part of the analysis showed how the prominent CSR themes identified in the James Price Point case – Aboriginal development, social cohesion, and environmental protection – were underpinned by a hegemonic economic

rationality. There was also an evident strategic use of spatiality in each of these CSR themes, which was intended to achieve the path of least resistance – for example, the way Native Title was structured around an absolute conception of space – and how it was used to simplify the impact and size of the project (i.e. the size of the development placed in context with the regional scale of the Kimberley). As a result of these constructions of CSR, the analysis also revealed a fractured CSR experience; a battle between a heterogeneous frontline community, and Woodside's and the State Government's strong approach to economic development. The lived CSR experience appeared to be shaped by a prevailing development agenda, which meant that even those who had been in favour of the proposed project felt pressure during the process – resulting in a 'forced' positive outcome. This kind of CSR policy was therefore rendered problematic and challenged in various ways, including protests and legal challenges.

The research outcomes suggested that in order to shift CSR scholarship forward to better understand its field of possibility, it is necessary to conceptualise CSR as relational space. This involves acknowledging its dynamic and unfolding nature in turn being influenced by modes, forces and politics – be they social, political, economic, institutional, cultural or environmental – at the local, regional, national or international scales. By doing so, the theory of governmentality and spatiality, considered uncharted theoretical terrain in CSR scholarship, proved critically revealing in understanding the dominant assumptions, values and prejudices embedded within CSR.

As these forces will always unfold in different ways and in different places, there is a continued need for further analysis to understand how particular spaces and places, in which CSR policy is implemented, are subjected and defined by those relations. The research also revealed a new research direction for CSR, in which the community is the central focus, and involved the creation of coordinated strategies to help empower host communities to assert more effective CSR agendas.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Overview

The Browse Basin is one of Australia's most significant gas deposits about 400 km offshore from the Kimberley coast. It has the potential to supply 30 to 50 years of gas, worth billions in export dollars. While exploration has been ongoing since the late 1960s, industry and government have only recently considered the Browse Basin commercially viable (Department of State Development 2010a). After a State Government-led site assessment process involving 43 locations in 2009, the Western Australian (WA) Liberal-National State Government under State Premier Colin Barnett selected James Price Point, about 60 kilometres north of Broome, as the location for a multi-user LNG processing precinct (Department of State Development 2010a). Later, Woodside, Australia's foremost oil and gas company, was selected as the foundational proponent along with other joint venture partners to lease the State Government's processing precinct.

According to government reports, the construction phase would have taken four to six years, and employed approximately 6000 personnel, mostly on a fly in/fly out (FIFO) basis. For every person directly employed, the project was also suggested to create one-and-a-half more indirect jobs as a result of the multiplier effect. During the operational phase, the workforce was expected to be reduced to approximately 400 to 600 workers (Department of State Development 2010a). The project would have involved the construction of a large onshore gas processing precinct over a total land area of up to 2,500 hectares to accommodate two LNG producers, with a total production capacity of up to 50 million metric tonnes of LNG per annum. The project would have also included two gas pipelines to feed two gas liquefaction plants, a port to accommodate large ships for transporting bulk LNG, and a large support base – either based in Broome or in the region nearby – to supply and maintain the offshore and onshore operations. Furthermore, dredging would have also been necessary to remove approximately 21 million cubic metres of the seabed to construct the port facilities (Andrews 2011; Department of State Development

2012; Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities 2012).

For the proponents – the State Government and Woodside, along with some local representatives – the project was viewed as a highly positive and ‘ethical’ development providing, among other benefits, an economic future for the disadvantaged, young Aboriginal population in the West Kimberley. The suggested benefit to the Aboriginal communities within the Kimberley came to be the leading CSR discourse surrounding the project, and subsequently became a key focus of this thesis. Despite the touted benefits, over the course of the project’s evolution, from 2009 to late 2012, the proposed LNG precinct had experienced significant delays. This was due to local community and wider public resistance campaigns, and numerous legal challenges.

In this thesis, it is suggested that the James Price Point case evokes some important questions about corporate social responsibility (CSR), a catchphrase for the “right way” of doing business (Shamir 2002, 13), which is considered “more humane, more ethical and more transparent” (van Marrewijk 2003, 95). CSR policy and practice can reflect a range of policies, programs, processes and initiatives that go beyond the traditional economic and legal obligations of a firm and its stakeholders (Carroll 1979). These can include strategies for community development and poverty alleviation (Blowfield 2012), as well as fair consultation and negotiation processes and mitigation of potential impacts (Bebbington 2010; Jenkins and Yakovleva 2006). As such, it is advocated as a win for both the community and business, through its impact on reputation and risk management and the corporation’s bottom line (Carroll and Shabana 2010; Kurucz *et al.* 2008). Companies that do not embrace CSR are often subjected to conflict and reputational impacts, for having, or being perceived to have, broken the social contract (Greening and Turban 2000; Idemudia 2007a; Maignan and Ferrell 2004). These are, at least, the claims of the dominant capitalist strands of CSR theory.

While modern business has enthusiastically embraced the concept (Idemudia 2007a), the conflict surrounding the James Price Point case suggests there is more complexity to CSR than is apparent within dominant CSR theory. Even beyond the

boundaries of this case, CSR within the resources sector (the context for this research) is shown to be highly contested involving host resource communities (that are rarely homogeneous groups (Avci *et al.* 2010)), resource companies and State and National Governments (Calvano 2008). This is particularly evident where developable lands involve multiple cultural, historical, social and emotional contexts (Garvin *et al.* 2009; Idemudia 2009), or where there is a perceived inequitable distribution of benefits, costs and impacts (Kemp *et al.* 2011). In this context, the ideal of CSR is most effective when there is a balance of interests – for example, between the interests and rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (hereafter referred to as Aboriginal) people, environmental and heritage protection, and profit-making (Frederick 2008; Jenkins 2004; Mallin 2009).

The critical strands of theory suggest that CSR must be understood as largely political in nature, in that the intersections between its social, economic, environmental and cultural aspects are firmly embedded in, and affected by, the structural influences and mechanisms of power operating at the level of the political economy (Banerjee 2010); a view that appears to be crucial in this research context, given the conflicted nature of the James Price Point case. Through this perspective, CSR is no longer conceived as a simple business phenomenon but a socially and politically embedded one (Amaeshi and Amao 2009). Therefore, this research considers that in viewing “the adoption of CSR as an individual management choice is to lose sight of the system in which it is meant to operate” (Enoch 2007, 80).

Accordingly, this research uses the James Price Point case to examine CSR through the ‘lens’ of political economy, and draw out the dominant assumptions, prejudices and power relations that may “condition [its] possibility” (Harvey 2000, 539). In doing so, the research also directly follows Banerjee’s call “to visit places of resistance, of protest, of livelihood struggles” (2010, 272), and examines the reasons why communities are protesting against corporations and governments. Since the mainstream CSR agenda fails to explore and problematise these aspects in any great detail, the main contribution of this thesis is to propose an alternative way of conceptualising and analysing CSR – one that considers CSR as historically constituted in discursive, political and institutional forces, at the level of the political

economy. As a consequence, various problematic qualities of policy and practice arise, that are also found within the dominant theoretical strands of CSR theory.

With this research aim, the thesis has necessarily become multidisciplinary, crossing multiple theoretical ‘bridges’ – philosophy, geography and sociology – albeit, the thesis naturally resides within the business school. The intention of the research is to bring some conceptually “difficult but useful ideas from other fields” (Hannah 2007, 92) to provide insight into the ideological character of CSR. Accordingly, this thesis has not been written by a geographer, philosopher or social theorist, but rather from the perspective of business management. Thus, the frameworks of analysis presented represent an ethos of investigation, rather than a theoretical journey that seeks to advance the body of knowledge within these respective disciplines.

1.2 The ‘Spaces of CSR’: A Theoretical Framework

In early Western conceptualisations of CSR (pre-1960s), social responsibility was rationalised from an altruistic and moral standpoint – where being good was simply the right thing to do (see, for example, Bowen 1953; Mikkilä 2003). Today, an alternative conception of social responsibility known as the “business case logic” for CSR has been advanced, rationalised on the basis of making good economic sense (Idemudia 2009, 91; Shamir 2004, 2010). With the mainstream research agenda dominated by such a logic, it is the position of this author – also shared by others in the field (e.g. Banerjee 2007, 2008, 2010; Blowfield 2005a; Brooks 2010; Richter 2010; Vallentin 2012) – that this conceptualisation of CSR and associated CSR scholarship are problematic.

Critical strands of CSR theory highlight the “putative gap between rhetoric and reality concerning CSR policy and practice” (O’Riordan and Fairbrass 2008, 747). The mainstream CSR agenda is governed by a philosophy that business can do well and be good, and contains an unproblematic portrayal of CSR (Brueckner and Mamun 2010), and an evident absence of robust internal critique (Blowfield 2005a). With a dominant “outcomes” focus, especially financial and economic (Idemudia 2008, 103), less is known about other integral ideas about the function of CSR

including its ideological framing, as well as its operational and sociological understandings (Blowfield and Frynas 2005; Brooks 2010; Blowfield 2005a; Carroll and Shabana 2010).

Within CSR theory, calls have been made to ‘deconstruct’ the construct by exploring the processes, interactions, relationships, power and politics shrouding its core and essential nature (see, for example, Banerjee 2007, 2008, 2010; Blowfield 2005a; Brooks 2010; Idemudia 2008). Recently, a group of scholars have been interested in the evolving politicalised nature of CSR. They have been researching several issues, such as: 1) the emerging political conception of the firm (e.g. Matten and Crane 2005; Scherer and Palazzo 2007, 2011; Richter 2010; Whelan 2012), 2) the evolving institutional theory research agenda concerned with the institutional factors that shape CSR (e.g. Brammer *et al.* 2012), and 3) the governance of CSR approach (e.g. Albareda *et al.* 2007, Albareda *et al.* 2004, 2006; Midttun 2005). While this research maintains interest in the political constitution of CSR, the mainstream agenda is characterised by an apolitical framework (Richter 2010), “...a kind of self-imposed ideological blindness in the sense that it either disregards political-ideological reflection altogether, or engages only selectively, and ultimately rather superficially, with political thinking” (Vallentin 2012, 7) – which underpins this research agenda.

From the perspective of political economy, the way a company interacts with its affected communities is strongly impacted by the role of government in the management of economic and social affairs, by ideology, government officialic tradition and capacity, and by relations of power between actors (Altman and Martin 2009; Banerjee 2007, 2010; Brammer *et al.* 2012; Detomasi 2008; Matten and Moon 2008). That is, the complex social, political and economic frameworks that underlie the political economy (Gray *et al.*, 1996) are suggested to structure and define the socio-political morality (Banerjee 2010). As a result, CSR is shown to emerge from within a contested “socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions” (Suchman 1995, 574), as well as from various spatial imaginations, discourses, techniques and practices (Rutherford 2011). This knowledge is critical for understanding why and how companies choose to engage in CSR (Detomasi 2008), and in understanding the system that underlies protests and resistance

campaigns against corporations and governments (Banerjee 2010), and the social effectiveness of CSR initiatives.

This research, emphasising how the system surrounding CSR is realised within practice and through lived experiences, has value, as there has been a notable absence of empirical attention directed at the social ‘experiences’ (processes) and ‘effectiveness’ (outcomes) for host communities (Banerjee 2005, 2008, 2010; Frynas 2008; Mikkilä 2005; Idemudia 2008). There is general acknowledgement that CSR should be defined primarily by community expectations, perceptions and local cultures (Lee and Carroll 2011), but CSR theory is not geared toward establishing the quality of CSR for those who are the intended beneficiaries (Banerjee 2007; Blowfield 2007; Idemudia 2007a).

As such, the analysis of CSR in relation to the James Price Point case is placed within a theoretical framework which draws on the concepts of governmentality and spatiality. The theory of governmentality presents a framework for thinking about the State, in addition to considering the processes and instruments used in governing. A critical analysis of the styles of reasoning (‘rationalities’) underlying institutions, discourses, instruments and institutional settings (‘technologies’), within a CSR context is provided. The theory of spatiality presents the view that spaces and places are shaped and formed by the intersection of discourses, power, knowledge, imaginaries and practices of the State (‘spatial imaginaries’). It is suggested that the ‘spaces of CSR’ concept be further refined when CSR is embedded within *relational space*, conceiving space as a social product, ever unfolding, and constituted through a range of discursive, emotional, physical, natural, organisational, technological and institutional forces (Rose 1999).

The ‘spaces of CSR’ framework represents uncharted theoretical territory for exploring various forces that exist within the political economy of CSR. The use of this framework has been crucial in exposing the inherent challenges that underlie the conflict surrounding the James Price Point case.

1.3 Research Aims and Objectives

The broad aim of this research is to critically interrogate the socio-political construction of CSR, and show how CSR, in the James Price Point case, is being produced by dominant political discourses, strategies and institutional arrangements. In particular, the research is seeking to explore the discursive, historical, political, institutional and spatial forces that shape the construction of CSR at the level of the political economy, and to understand how these particular constructions ‘played out’ to shape the lived experience of CSR in the host community of Broome. Given this context, the research is oriented toward the following objectives: 1) to understand how the wider politico-economic environment informs and influences the reality of CSR, 2) to explore the contemporary socio-political construction of CSR by the respective governments at State and Federal levels, and 3) to ‘spatially anchor’ dominant political discourses within the resources sector and explore the consequences of these spatial sensibilities for CSR.

In achieving these major aims and objectives, the research will be closely guided by the following minor questions: 1) what governmental rationalities underpin the construction of CSR governance? 2) what governmental technologies shape CSR governance? 3) what governmental spatial imaginaries are revealed in CSR governance? 4) how are governmental rationalities, technologies and spatial imaginaries realised in the lived CSR experience?

1.4 Case Study Context

1.4.1 Historical Development of the James Price Point Case

James Price Point is located in WA’s Kimberley region, near the iconic tourist town of Broome. Broome is the most populated township within the Kimberley, built on an appealing mix of recreational, historical, pearling, aesthetic, environmental, cultural and lifestyle values, and is home to approximately 15,000 residents, swelling to about 30,000 people in peak tourist season (Hughes 2010). The Kimberley is rich in history and culture, with Aboriginal heritage in particular remaining strong and diverse, built on a continuous local presence of over 50,000

years (Woinarski *et al.* 2007). However, an unfortunate juxtaposition continues to exist; small areas rich in history and containing thriving communities, coexist alongside social dysfunction, disease, alcoholism, unemployment, suicide and abuse. Ecologically, the area contains spectacularly vast and varied topographies, rugged coastlines, and large expanses of natural (and untouched) environments. The region hosts one of the few remaining large, intact tropical savannah areas in the world (Hughes 2010).

Public commentary concerning the James Price Point case emerged in 2005, when Woodside began informing civic leaders in Broome of their proposal to process LNG at a plant off the Kimberley coastline. At the same time, the Japanese LNG firm Inpex had also been searching for a suitable location to process LNG along the Kimberley coast. This caused considerable community opposition, especially from the environmental movement, leading to the decision by the former Labor Government (under Premier Alan Carpenter) to establish the Northern Development Task Force (NDTF) in June 2007. The NDTF was tasked to identify possible locations for at least one LNG processing plant (either in the Kimberley, Northern Territory, Pilbara or offshore – see also Figure 1), which would service the Browse Basin gas (Bell 2007). In association with the Kimberley Land Council (KLC) – Kimberley’s Native Title Representative Body – and a Traditional Owner Leadership Council (TOLC), only four sites were selected for analysis relating to Aboriginal heritage, cultural values, environmental protection and technical analysis. These were:

1. James Price Point (Goolarabooloo/Jabirr Jabirr Claim Groups, approximately 50kms north of Broome)
2. North Head (Nyul Nyul Claim Group, approximately 100kms north of Broome)
3. Anjo Peninsula (Uunguu Claim Group, within the Shire of Wyndhem East Kimberley)
4. Gourdon Bay (Karajarri Claim Group, approximately 50kms south of Broome) (KLC 2011).

In February 2008, the then Federal Environment Minister, Peter Garrett, signed an agreement (under Section 146 of the Environmental Protection and Biodiversity Act 1999 (EPBA)) with the WA State Government to undertake a Strategic Assessment for a “Plan for a Common-User Liquefied Natural Gas Hub Precinct and its associated activities”, and to explore the impacts associated with an LNG processing precinct in the Kimberley (Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities 2008, 1). In late 2008, the WA Liberal-National State Government was elected and made a clear commitment to facilitate an LNG processing precinct on the Kimberley coastline. This occurred after Inpex had signed a \$33 billion dollar agreement with the Northern Territory Government for LNG processing in Darwin, after failing to gain State approval for an LNG precinct on the environmentally sensitive Maret Islands, in the Kimberley (Hansard Council 2009).

In early 2009, shortly after the release of the recommendations as to a suitable site by WA’s Environmental Protection Authority’s (EPA), Premier Barnett selected James Price Point as his preferred site for the LNG processing precinct. James Price Point is currently unallocated Crown land that is subject to the Goolarabooloo-Jabirr Jabirr (GJJ) Native Title claim (Department of State Development 2010a). Immediately following, Woodside, the foundational proponent, made an offer to the GJJ Traditional Owners for a cash payment of \$500 million, in return for permission to establish an LNG facility at James Price Point. The offer was deemed unacceptable, in terms of benefits and the potential social, cultural and environmental impacts, and was subsequently rejected by the GJJ Traditional Owners (KLC 2011). In March 2009, the Premier indicated that GJJ Traditional Owners had until May to agree to a suitable location, or he would initiate a process of compulsory acquisition to take the land. In April 2009, a meeting was organised between the GJJ and the Djaberra Djaberra claim groups, as well as representatives from Woodside and the State Government. At this meeting, the Traditional Owners voted to enter into a Heads of Agreement with the State Government and Woodside, with the intention of signing an Indigenous Land Use Agreement to establish a precinct at James Price Point (KLC 2011).

By July 2011, Chief Negotiator, Wayne Bergmann (former CEO of the KLC), had negotiated an Indigenous Land Use Agreement that included \$1.5 billion dollars' worth of commitments from both the State Government and Woodside. These included funds for business and investment, contracting and tendering opportunities for Aboriginal people, homes for GJJ and other Aboriginal people, education, land, funds to support and address social impacts and manage culture, employment targets and training programs (Barnett 2011). In 2012, the EPA had given the project environmental approval with 29 strict conditions (Environmental Protection Authority 2012). However, in late 2012, Woodside had withdrawn as foundational proponent, preferring, for commercial reasons, to build floating technology to process the gas from the Browse Basin.

Illustrations of the proposed location and the original design concept are provided in Figures 1, 2, 3 and 4.

The “Browse LNG precinct” image by M. Andrews, in the *4th Annual Kimberley Energy and Resources Development*. Broome, Western Australia: Cable Beach Club is unable to be reproduced here due to copyright restrictions.

The “Browse LNG precinct” image can instead be accessed via the *4th Annual Kimberley Energy and Resources Development* event organisers.

Figure 1: Location of Browse Basin Gas Fields and proposed LNG processing at James Price Point. Source: (Andrews 2011, 2)

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The “Browse liquefied natural gas (LNG) precinct” can instead be accessed via <http://www.dsd.wa.gov.au>.

Figure 2: Schematic map of the James Price Point LNG processing plant. Source: (Department of State Development 2010a, 2)

The “James Price Point” image by J. Butler. 2011. *Destroying the Kimberley to mine gas benefits no one*. The Age. August 16 is unable to be reproduced here due to copyright restrictions.

The “James Price Point” image can instead be accessed via
<http://www.theage.com.au>

Figure 3: Aerial view of James Price Point on the Kimberley coast. Source: (Butler 2011, n.p.)

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<http://www.smh.com.au>.

Figure 4: Ground view of James Price Point on the Kimberley coast. Source: (Manning 2009, n.p.)

1.4.2 Australian Federal and State Government Relations in the Context of Resource Development

The Australian Federal system of government consists of three tiers, the Commonwealth, and the States and Territories, and the Local Government (dealt only through Local Government Acts). The Commonwealth's 'exclusive' (Commonwealth only) decision-making powers, and the Commonwealth's and State's 'concurrent' (joint) powers, are only outlined within the Australian Constitution. Those aspects not outlined in the Constitution, such as resource development policy, land management and planning, are necessarily managed by the States. The States are responsible for granting mining leases (often with infrastructure conditions), and ensuring that the mining, and associated heritage, environment, health and safety laws are complied with, and that royalties are collected (McKay *et al.* 2001).

Under Section 51 of the Constitution, the Commonwealth is responsible for interstate and overseas affairs that occur in Australia's offshore waters, including trade and commerce related matters, fisheries, defence, lighthouses, quarantine, corporations, petroleum and minerals, beyond 3 nautical miles. They also have responsibility for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander affairs, territories, and external affairs (Department of Environment and Heritage 1991). Therefore, the Browse Basin gas fields lie within Commonwealth waters, whereas the LNG processing precinct falls within State jurisdiction. In this case, however, the Commonwealth played a more prominent role than would have occurred normally, given the significant environmental values and increased public awareness surrounding LNG processing within the Kimberley. As such, the proposed LNG precinct also required approval through the *Commonwealth Environmental Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act* (1999), one of the first tautological acts to promote ecological sustainability (Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities 1999).

The Native Title process features prominently in this thesis, as it emerged as a key issue within the James Price Point case. The following paragraphs provide

further background and context. In 1993, the *Commonwealth Native Title Act* 1993 was enacted in response to the *Mabo versus the State of Queensland* (1992) decision (Commonwealth Consolidated Acts 1993; High Court of Australia 1992). In this court case, the High Court overturned the doctrine of *terra nullius* (uninhabited lands), and acknowledged Aboriginal rights to their home lands (High Court of Australia 1992). The Native Title Act outlines that Native Title rights exist in relation to lands, which are not alienated or used for government purpose, such as for public works and infrastructure (Department of Regional Development and Lands 2013). According to Brennan (1992, 57), Native Title refers to “the interests and rights of indigenous inhabitants in land, whether communal, group or individual, possessed under the traditional laws acknowledged by, and the traditional customs observed by, the indigenous inhabitants”. Native Title can be extinguished by one of three mechanisms: expropriation (with compensation), confiscation (without compensation), or a third option in which the Crown may grant that land as being of state or national significance (Sender 1999).

According to the Native Title Act, Native Title holders do not have the right to veto future developments, but their rights and interests need to be taken into account (National Native Title Tribunal 2013a). Instead, Native Title holders have the right to negotiate, and developers, miners, government and Native Title parties must negotiate in good faith (National Native Title Tribunal 2013b; Sender 1999). With the right to negotiate, Native Title holders – including claimants in areas where no final determinations have been made – have the right to object to a proposal, and to ask for compensation. Native Title negotiations are also required, in order to observe the principles outlined within *Article 32 of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, thereby providing the right of Aboriginal people to “determine their own priorities for the development or use of their lands as well as the right to free, prior and informed consent for any project affecting their lands or territories” (National Native Title Tribunal 2012b, n.p.).

1.5 Research Methods

Using the proposed LNG processing precinct at James Price Point as a case study of the resources sector in WA, this research strives to make visible the values, assumptions, prejudices and limitations that are embedded within CSR. This is achieved by way of a critical analysis of institutional, political, historical, discursive and spatial forces. This thesis also explores the lived CSR experience, that is, the way these forces are perceived on the ground by the host community. In doing so, the research reflects a significant conceptual shift from the positivist dominance contained within the CSR research agenda (Scherer and Palazzo 2007); in particular by using the tools of governmentality and spatiality which problematises the practices of the State in the constitution of the CSR governance landscape.

As a consequence, a philosophical position of critical realism frames the research. It favours ontology over epistemology, where the view of CSR – as embedded within a field of power relations and structural features – shapes how the data is collected. It is also justified on the basis of its focus toward revealing the underlying and interlocking causes, whether social, economic, political or personal, which give rise to certain events and discourses (Bhaskar 1989; Parr 2009; Sousa 2010; Willig 1999). In relation to this, qualitative research methods are considered the most powerful for revealing the structural, ideological and power biases of CSR. In this thesis, the James Price Point case is analysed using a range of effective interpretive research tools, namely observational evidence, document review and semi-structured, in-depth interviews. Using this combination of tools, a compelling story has been revealed about the way ideology, power and structural bias feature within CSR governance. Similarly, these research tools allow for a compelling story to be told about the way these forces contributed to a fractured CSR experience.

The analysis was subjected to a broad critical discourse analysis framework because of its effectiveness in “de-mystifying ideologies and power” within various forms of data (written, spoken and visual) (Wodak 2009, 3), and by its method of paying particular attention to the “taken-for-grantedness of language” (Henderson 2005, 2). Using the framework, the research focussed attention on the taken-for-granted aspects of CSR, and CSR discourse and governance, namely, the wider

national, economic, legal and moral context in shaping corporate responsibility within societies (Palazzo and Scherer 2008).

1.6 Conventions used in this Thesis

In accordance with contemporary preferences in WA (e.g. Brueckner *et al.* in print), this thesis uses ‘Aboriginal’ as opposed to ‘Indigenous’ to refer to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders. Goolarabooloo-Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owners will be presented as ‘GJJ Traditional Owners’. There are also many uses of the word ‘state’ and ‘State’ in this thesis. References to the ‘State’ in a government context will be capitalised, while other uses will be in lower case. Throughout the thesis, both theoretical and analytical quotations are shown with double inverted commas. In instances where there are numerous quotations supporting an identified theme, they have been arranged into box inserts. In the cases of shorter, singular quotations, these have been inserted within the text.

Some segments of the local community in Broome have formed unincorporated groups within the James Price Point case. For example, the ‘Old Broome Families’, ‘No Gas’, ‘Save the Kimberley’, and ‘Goolarabooloo family’, have their own reasons for opposing the project. Those participants in opposition have variously been associated with these informal groups, as opposed to the more formal incorporated environmental non-government organisations, such as the Kimberley Wilderness Society and Environs Kimberley. In this thesis, all such opponents have been referred to as ‘local community organisations’.

1.7 Research Significance

This research is of theoretical, policy and practical importance. The ‘spaces of CSR’ framework is original and represents uncharted theoretical territory, providing rich new perspectives in understanding the politicisation of CSR, in line with various contributions of the critical research agenda for CSR (Banerjee 2007, 2008, 2010; Blowfield and Dolan 2008; Vallentin and Murello 2008, 2009, 2012 and Vallentin 2012). The analysis of spatial sensibilities is especially novel, with the

findings revealing policy and practical relevance, and potentially foregrounding new approaches and directions for CSR research. The differences that exist between nations and their political culture and tradition, significantly shape a particular kind of CSR reality (Detomasi 2008; Gjølborg 2009a). In response, the research addresses the dearth of studies canvassing the Australian context. It seems also that research contributions are most revealing when empirical work is combined with theory, thereby building relevance (Bendassolli 2013).

From a policy perspective, this study gives valuable new insights into the ‘spaces of CSR’ framework, especially involving government-led resource projects. The research provides policy recommendations for reconciling tensions between the roles of regulator and developer, and offers suggestions for stronger forms of CSR, that shift resource projects from positions of adversary to positions of acceptance. Furthermore, by engaging in a deeper understanding of the interplay between CSR and its political-economic context, as well as the localised CSR experience, both corporations and policy makers will benefit from the new perspectives and understanding of CSR.

1.8 Thesis Overview

This thesis is comprised of nine chapters including the introduction and conclusion (thesis structure is shown in Figure 5). Chapter Two charts the research evolution of CSR scholarship. This is structured around five key themes identified within the CSR literature: the *Historical Evolution of CSR*, the *Intellectual Journey of CSR*, the *Institutional Dynamics of CSR*, *CSR Effectiveness* and *Toward a Deconstruction of CSR*. It is within the last theme that gaps in the critical literature are identified. Chapter Three presents a new theoretical positioning for CSR as the ‘spaces of CSR’ framework. Initially, CSR is re-conceptualised as acting within relational space, which allows for the theories of governmentality and spatiality to be used as a way to critically analyse CSR policy and practice.

Chapter Four will describe the research design and methodology. Initially, this chapter will discuss the guiding paradigm informing this research followed by the specific methodology and research strategy adopted. A detailed justification will

be provided for the qualitative methodology including case study research and justification for the James Price Point case. The rationale for the research techniques used in this thesis will also be outlined. This will be followed by a discussion of the approach to data analysis employed in this research.

Chapters Five, Six and Seven are analytical chapters. Chapter Five provides a detailed overview of the discursive, political, historical, institutional and spatial factors of relevance to James Price Point case, at the local, regional and national scales. Chapter Six is structured around the three prominent features of CSR discourse embedded within the James Price Point case – Aboriginal development, environmental protection, and social cohesion – and presents an analysis of how each CSR theme is variously shaped and influenced by political discourses, strategies and institutional settings. Chapter Seven draws upon these CSR themes to demonstrate the lived CSR experience on the ground. Attention is also given to economic impacts and the effect of the various community relations tactics used within this chapter.

Using the four key research questions about rationalities, technologies, spatial imaginaries, and the lived CSR experience, Chapter Eight will show how the specific brand of CSR is being shaped within CSR governance and actualised within the James Price Point case. This chapter will also demonstrate the relevant linkages to CSR scholarship. In conclusion, Chapter Nine provides a summary of the thesis followed by a discussion of this study's theoretical, policy and practical implications. In addition, research limitations will be examined and future research directions will be explored. This overview is presented in Figure 5.

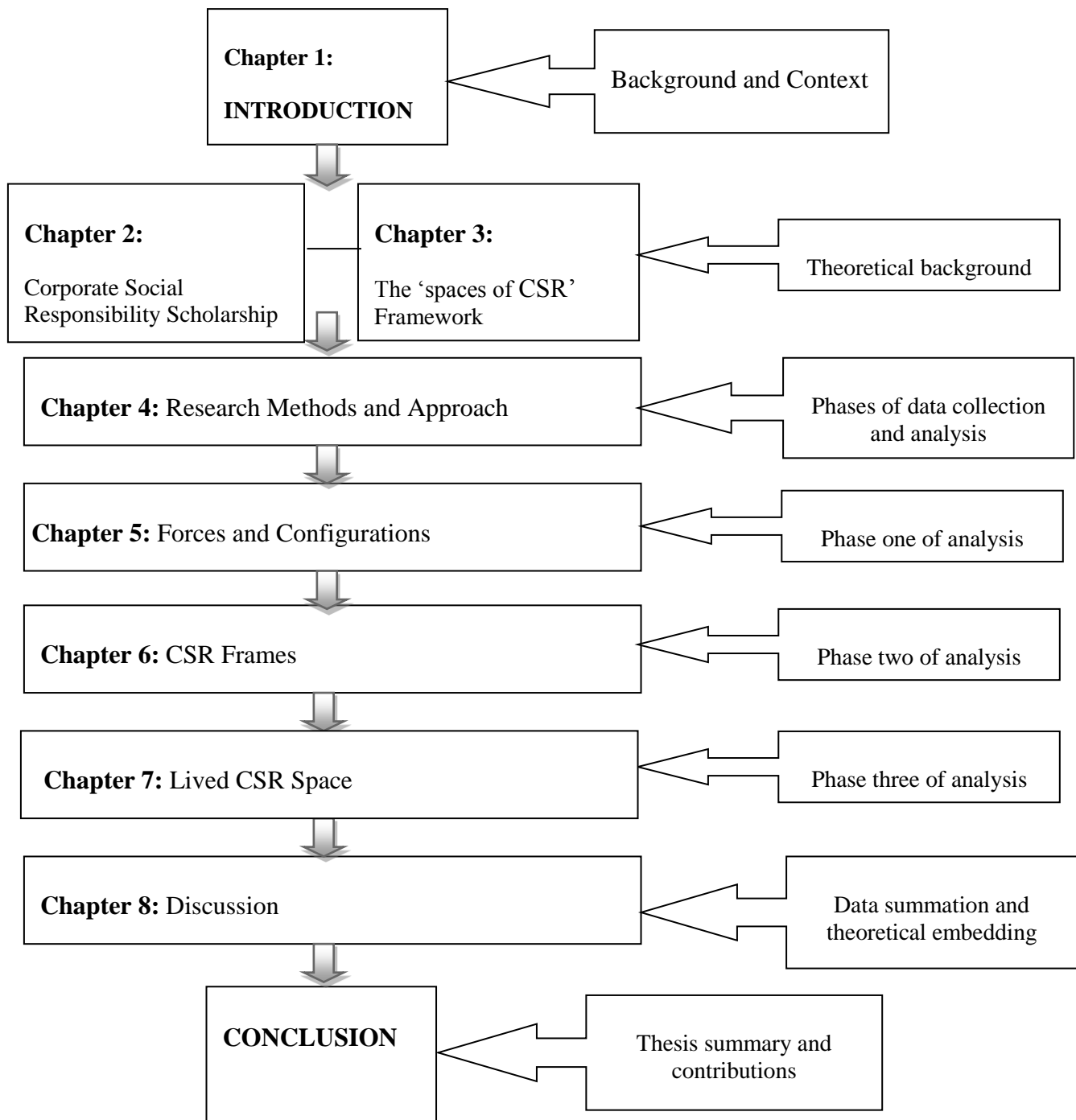


Figure 5: Thesis overview

CHAPTER 2 CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY SCHOLARSHIP

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the first of a two-part theoretical framework for deconstructing CSR from a socio-political perspective. Over several decades, the landscape of business in society has attracted much scholarly and practitioner interest. As a result, the field is strewn with various similar – yet sometimes differing – terminologies, labels and perspectives that characterise the way business ought to engage with society. This thesis considers contemporary CSR to represent an umbrella term for this longstanding and constantly evolving conversation (Jenkins 2005). While there appears to be no universally accepted definition, CSR is understood here to reflect a value alignment between and among stakeholders, by accounting for interests and impacts (Mallin 2009). The concept also seeks to align the social, environmental, economic, Aboriginal and governance spheres with corporate values, strategies, and decision-making practices (Hohnen 2007). As such, it is a relationship that balances a firm's economic interests with societal and community needs, aspirations and concerns (Frederick 2008), and consequently demonstrates sensitivity to the local operating context (Burja and Mihalache 2010).

The concern for the impact of economic activities is not new (Argandoña and Von Weltzien Hoivik 2009). The philosophy that lies behind the rhetoric of CSR has roots in the very beginnings of trade and business itself (Freeman 2011). As such, this chapter will begin by tracing key historical movements that transformed CSR from a place of the unknown, and even hostility, toward a recognised 'CSR space' where the construct has gained high-profile orthodoxy within corporate, political and societal spheres (Carroll and Shabana 2010; McWilliams *et al.* 2006). The remainder of the chapter will explore four major themes, with some being more prominent than others. The intellectual journey of CSR initially highlights the evolutionary path of CSR as a theoretical construct, drawing particular attention to its meaning in different phases of its lifecycle, the theoretical models that have dominated the CSR field, and the attempts at developing a common language for CSR. This theoretical

vein is derived from a belief that embedding CSR into corporations' mindsets can only be achieved by developing a much clearer understanding of the term (Dahlsrud 2008; Wilson and Olsen 2003). However, as this section will show, the concept remains elusive, in model, spirit, practice and policy.

The “institutional dynamics of CSR” (Brammer *et al.* 2012, 9) demonstrates that the construct is influenced greatly by specific socio-political contexts. In this section, two alternative research frameworks are identified: the institutional theory of CSR and the political economy of CSR. In CSR effectiveness, the business case for CSR is explored. This has shown to be a popular research theme, in which proponents of capitalist strands of CSR theory advocate the strategic character of CSR, and its implications for the corporate bottom line (Campbell 2007). In highlighting reputation, risk management and profitability outcomes of CSR, this section captures the conceptual shift from CSR as ‘responsibilities’, defined in their moral sense, to a kind of CSR that is characterised by market opportunities, risk management and value creation (Nijhof and Jeurissen 2010). The remainder of this chapter will consider the unproblematic portrayal of CSR as a basis for the deconstruction of CSR. This thesis intends to make an original practical and theoretical contribution to the currently small, but growing awareness of the complex reality of CSR.

2.2 Historical Perspectives of CSR

Despite the recent contention that has surrounded the rubric of CSR, history reveals that interest shown in the social and environmental impacts of a firm is as old as trade and business activity itself (BRASS Centre 2011).¹ In the 1800s, enterprises in Europe and North America were originally conceived by the State Charter and the Catholic Church as entities serving the interests of the public (Banerjee 2005, 2007;

¹ For example, commercial logging practices some 5000 years ago had shown an interest in these concerns (BRASS Centre 2011). The moral principles of business and ‘controlled greed’ were also seen in the first century BC by pre-Christian Western thinkers such as Cicero and non-Western thinkers such as India’s Kautilya in the 4th century BC (Blowfield and Frynas 2005; Frynas 2009a) and also in Quaker businesses (Doane 2005). In Medieval times, certain business practices deemed immoral were also condemned (Blowfield and Frynas 2005).

Perrow 2002). For a corporation to embrace the sole objective of wealth creation was seen as being simply immoral (Kristofferson *et al.* 2005). However, through a mix of political, economic, social and legal forces as well as attitudinal changes, the original conceptions of the modern corporation – as public entities serving the interests of wider society – dramatically changed during the 19th and 20th centuries (Kristofferson *et al.* 2005; Perrow 2002). In the period between 1865 and 1900, laissez-faire governance was based on the liberal discourse insisting that government must not “govern too much” (Foucault 2008, 319). This set in motion a pattern of unprecedented development, based on a philosophy of industrial expansion, maximum growth and non-government interference (Bernays 1988).

Some CSR scholars have drawn attention to Andrew Carnegie’s legacy, which was instrumental in the rise of large corporations, the creation of America’s economic superpower of capitalism and a key advocate of the laissez-faire economic model. Carnegie was also a key supporter of the charity and stewardship of society’s principles (Brooks 2010; Carnegie 1962). In 1889, in his essay *The Gospel of Wealth*, he argued that the obligations of wealthy entrepreneurs were to reinvest surplus profits through charitable giving for the betterment of the public. Other wealthy businessmen and a number of corporations gave donations towards “the reconciliation of the rich and the poor – a reign of harmony” (Carnegie 1991, 299), prior to World War I (Heald 1957).² However, examples of corporate generosity were rare (Wulfson 2001) and corporate philanthropy became the subject of increasing criticism (Walton 1967). For example, the intellectual critic William J. Ghent called this form of corporate generosity as “conspicuous giving ... always shrewdly disposed with an eye to the allayment of pain and the quieting of discontent” (Heald 1957, 376). It was seen as a tactic to reduce government legislation that had been introduced to curb particular negative externalities such as

² For example, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company announced that it was “the purpose of this corporation to solve the social problem” (Ghent cited in Heald 1957, 377). Henry Ford created paternalistic programs to support the recreational and health needs and desires of his employees. Another tycoon, J.D. Rockefeller, donated \$183 million to start the Rockefeller Foundation (Heald 1957).

monopolistic behaviour, inequality and discrimination (Hoffman 2007; Kristofferson *et al.* 2005).

The relationship between business and the public was further shaped as a result of the *Henry Ford vs Dodge Brothers* court case in 1917,³ which determined that business was required to serve the interest of its shareholders and not serve the public interest (Banerjee 2007; Carroll 1999; Lee 2008). As a consequence, the legal system made it such that corporations were entities that sought profit maximisation for their shareholders, leaving social problems and the interests of society in the care of government (Scherer and Palazzo 2007; Richter 2010).

With the existence of plentiful resources, a mass global market, industrialisation, information technology, railway development and laissez-faire capitalism, the modern corporation began to flourish (Bernays 1988; Marinetto 1999; Perrow 2002). The wealth and prosperity that was produced by large corporations had such economic and social significance that governments were unwilling to restrict them (Hoffman 2007); 1920s America was ‘booming’ with real economic growth, progress and development (Shlaes 2007). The media, leading politicians and outspoken businessmen consistently argued capitalism’s ‘self-correcting’ tendency (Ferguson 1984). However, with vast corporate freedoms, companies were increasingly failing to internalise their externalities and the system began to collapse (Luthans *et al.* 1990). By the late 1920s, corporations were increasingly subjected to public criticism over wielding too much corporate power and practicing anti-social and anti-competitive behavior (Wulfson 2001). This led Rockefeller (1928, 25 cited in Heald 1957) to suggest:

In the light of the present every thoughtful man must concede that the purpose of industry is quite as much the advancement of social well-

³ In this case, Henry Ford’s vision for the company was “to do as much as possible for everybody concerned, to make money and use it, give employment, and send out the car where the people can use it ... and incidentally to make money ... Business is a service not a bonanza” (Lewis 1976 in Lee 2008). The judge disagreed and ruled that “a business organisation is organised and carried on primarily for the profit of stockholders. Directors cannot shape and conduct the affairs of a corporation for the mere incidental benefit of shareholders for the primary purpose of benefiting others” (Regan 1998 cited in Banerjee 2007).

being as the production of wealth ... The parties to industry are four in number; capital, management, labor, and the community.

Laissez-faire capitalism was a central driver for the Great Depression between 1929-1933, which resulted in high levels of unemployment, income cuts, commodity price declines, bankruptcies and the collapse of international finance (Bernays 1988; Ferguson 1984). Up until the Great Depression, the dynamics of industrial growth placed significant restrictions on the willingness and the ability of managers and directors to engage in socially responsible ways (Heald 1957; Marinetto 1999), as Wallace Donham (Dean of the Harvard Business School) in 1929 indicated:

Business started long centuries before the dawn of history, but business as we now know it is new – new in its broadening scope, new in its social significance. Business has not learned to handle these changes, nor does it recognise the magnitude of its responsibilities for the future of civilization (BRASS Centre 2011, n.p.).

During this period, social responsibilities of corporations continued to be undefined, specified only in macro social terms, and they failed to resonate in the minds of shareholders and align with the interests of the corporation (Moura-Leite and Padgett 2011). For example, Henry Ford's "service before profit" mantra was narrowly defined as an increase in production; productivity was seen to generate the greatest contribution to national welfare by creating self-reliance (Heald 1957, 381). Similar arguments were seen in the context of the mass production of goods and services by major retailer Edward A. Filene (Heald 1957). Subsequently, the expansion in production became aligned with the corporate language of 'service' to emerge as a new 'humanistic' capitalism, which was seen to merge the competitive needs of the corporation with social responsibility (Hoffman 2007).

According to Spector (2008), the current social responsibility landscape can be traced back to the early years of the Cold War between 1945 and 1960. In 1946, Donald David, then Dean of the Harvard Business School, urged for an enhanced conception of corporate responsibilities, insisting corporations had a "special responsibility to serve interests beyond shareholders and bottom-line profits" (Spector 2008, 318). David, along with other academics and corporate executives,

perceived CSR as a means of aligning business interests with the defense of free-market capitalism, against the perceived emerging threat of Soviet Communism. As a result, Spector (2008) considered this progressive ‘social’ discourse to lie within a larger ideological framework, and his influence extended to Federal commissions, corporate boards and curriculum development. Within an increasing conversation about social responsibility, some corporate CEOs began to advocate the need to balance the interests of everyone affected by the organisation, at a time known as the corporate statesman period (Reich 2007). These key players frequently stood before Congress explaining what was good for the nation, rather than advocating the specific interests of their consumers and shareholders (Reich 2007).

The 1960s was an especially significant period in the evolution of CSR. An uprising of civil, women’s and consumer’s rights advocates – as well as an emerging environmental movement – placed pressure on corporations to adopt better attitudes, practices and policies toward the social and ecological environment (Carroll and Shabana 2010). Questions were also increasingly raised over the effectiveness of public institutions to manage society and their capacity to solve complex societal problems (Albareda *et al.* 2008; Lepoutre *et al.* 2007; Salamon 2002). In addition, the economist Milton Friedman, from the notorious Chicago School of Economics, was soon to emerge as the central figure in the debate about CSR (Ruger 2011). In his 30 year tenure up until 1977, Friedman began to concentrate heavily on monetary policy and theory and commenced his attack on the Keynesianism model of government (Ruger 2011). For Friedman and others, government had failed; indicated by “inadequate public investment, low public sector productivity, shortfalls through over-politicisation of public services, and in some instances malpractice and outright corruption” (Zadek 2001, 15).

This led to his soon-to-be highly influential brand of neoclassical economic theory (a turn known as ‘neoconservatism’), which was regarded as a powerful tool for social and economic engineering (Klein 2007). In one of his most influential essays, Friedman argued that change occurred only from a state of crisis (disasters, upheavals or invasion), in which swift and radical “economic shock treatment” involving tax cuts, free trade, privatised services, cuts to social spending and deregulation was essential (Klein 2007, 1). The result was a dramatically downsized

government and a strong emphasis on competitive entrepreneurialism, efficiency and economic freedoms (Grimshaw *et al.* 2002). His ideology for this brand of neoclassical economics was principally about providing economic freedom as a basis for prosperity noting that:

The kind of economic organization that provides economic freedom directly, namely competitive capitalism, also promotes political freedom because it separates economic power from political power and in the way enables the one to offset the other (Friedman 2009, 9).

Over the next few decades, a renewed belief in liberal economic theories swept Western countries (Klein 2007; Salamon 2002).⁴ This led to the demise of the welfare state (Agatiello 2008) and the widespread implementation of economic theories chiefly premised on free market principles (Hughes 2003). This radical politico-economic transformation was captured using various discourses, including ‘managerialism’, ‘new public management’, ‘deregulation’, ‘outsourcing’, ‘market delivery’, ‘privatisation’ and ‘marketisation’ (Jessop 2002; Midttun *et al.* 2006). As Peck and Tickell (2002, 380) explained, “this mode of free market ideology ... has become the dominant ideological rationalisation for globalisation and contemporary state reform”, and indeed, the dominant social paradigm (Korhonen 2002).

This period of aggressive profit-making and unregulated markets, stimulated by neoliberal economic theory, led to more opportunistic and socially irresponsible corporate behaviour (Campbell 2006; Chatterji and Listokin 2007) coupled with corporations gaining substantial economic and political influence (Korten 1995; Sethi 2005). They were able to use their economic standing to affect meaningful political reforms and thus limit the means by which national governments could represent their citizen’s best interests (Sethi 2005; Zadek 2001). As a result of this limiting of government, multinational corporations became increasingly under attack (Vial 2007; Watts 2005).

⁴ This included neo-conservatism and communitarism as well as variants of neoliberalism identified by the German Ordoliberalen, the Chicago School and the writings of Hayek (Tiky 2003). While there are substantial differences between each school of thought, they do share commonalities such as their desire to limit government involvement (Tiky 2003).

Most notably, as a consequence of the emergence of international non-government organisations (NGOs) and watchdog agencies in the 1970s and 1980s, there was increasing interest in corporations to become more socially responsible, that is, more accountable, transparent, ethical and responsive to basic human rights (Jenkins 2005; Watts 2005). For example, Vial (2007) explains how an influential campaign by NGOs surrounding the Apartheid regime in the 1970s forced many multinationals to retract involvement from South Africa. The growing awareness of the environmental damage – as a result of industrial activity and high profile environmental disasters such as the Bhopal gas leak, the Chernobyl nuclear reactor meltdown and the Exxon Valdez oil spill during the 1980s – also stimulated the intensifying environmental movement (Vial 2007). There continued to be an anti-trust/anti-corporate movement that had accused corporations of deceiving customers, swindling investors and poisoning the environment (Broomhill 2007; Vogel 1992). Evidently, there was an increasing backlash over the way the neoliberal economic model had placed ethics and morality as secondary to business success (Carroll 1999; Lantos 2001).

Most large transnational corporations have responded with the formulation of environmental and social responsibility policies and embraced global CSR principles such as the United Nations Global Compact, Global Reporting Initiative and more recently the ISO26000 social responsibility guidance standard (Banerjee 2005; Jenkins 2004; Sethi 2005). CSR has become branded as a solution to the problems created by state failure as well as a significant mechanism to alleviate the governance imbalances resulting from the spread of neoliberal economic globalisation (Blowfield and Frynas 2005; Hamann 2003; Midttun *et al.* 2006). Corporations are now expected to go beyond their previous obligations and help alleviate social issues facing the world today (Kakabadse *et al.* 2005; Mikkilä 2003). With globalisation and growing environmental and social awareness, CSR has become one of the fastest growing areas of academic interest (Blowfield and Murray 2008; Frederick 2006; Margolis and Walsh 2003; Mikkilä 2003; Lee and Carroll 2011; Walsh *et al.* 2003; Werther and Chandler 2006).

2.3 Intellectual Journey of CSR

Comprehensive historical and evolutionary reviews of CSR have been provided by numerous scholars including Carroll (1999, 2008), Crowther (2008), Carroll and Shabana (2010), Frederick (2008), Joyner and Payne (2002), Lee (2008), Lee and Carroll (2011), Moura-Leite and Padgett (2011) and Spector (2008). Collectively, these studies illustrate how the meaning and understanding of the term has evolved considerably over the last five decades (Lee 2008). Appendix 1 summarises the primary historical themes established and relevant key scholars, with each transition period explained in full in the following sections.

2.3.1 Modernisation – The Emergence of the Western Conceptualisation of CSR

The modern emergence of the Western conception of CSR is regarded as a manifestation of the 1950s and following decades (Crane *et al.* 2008). However, as mentioned previously, there was evidence of CSR discourse during the period up until World War II. Nonetheless, Bowen's publication of the *Social Responsibilities of the Businessman* (1953) is widely seen to have marked the beginning of the modern CSR debate with him regarded as the "Father of Corporate Social Responsibility" (Carroll 1999, 270). Bowen argued that the dominant Western capitalist firm had social responsibilities and called upon corporations to pursue those policies which were desirable for society. This rested on the belief that business were moral agents and corporate behaviour must fall within the guidelines of society (Carroll 2008; Carroll and Shabana 2010; Kristoffersen *et al.* 2005).

In 1954, Peter Drucker raised similar assertions to Bowen as to the role of managers to assume responsibility for the public good.⁵ During this period, CSR emerged in the context of a service to humanity. Corporate philanthropy was viewed as public welfare and corporate managers acted as public trustees (Frederick 2006;

⁵ Drucker (1954, 388) argued that the corporation had "to consider whether the action is likely to promote the public good, to advance the basic beliefs of our society, to contribute to its stability, strength, and harmony".

Hoffman 2007). Aside from the public relations function of CSR – identified by Edward Bernays in his book *Crystallising Public Opinion* published in 1923 (Cutlip 1994) – the business case for CSR that has come to reflect mainstream scholarship was not evident (Lee 2008). At this time, CSR had an inherently value-driven character, and corporations were not looking at its potential links to profitability (Carroll and Shabana 2010). With heightened attention given to the social responsibility debate, Levitt influentially argued in 1958 that general welfare and social concerns were a responsibility of governments, and the responsibilities of business were subsequently coined around the material aspects of welfare (Carroll and Shabana 2010; Vial 2007). Levitt (1958, 42) also indicated that:

Corporate welfare makes good sense if it makes good economic sense – and not infrequently it does. But if something does not make economic sense, sentiment or idealism ought not to let it in the door.

2.3.2 Legitimisation – Awareness, Issues and Hostility of CSR

The 1960s and 1970s marked a period of importance within the literature where there was concentration on exploring the impact of business on society, the social responsibilities of business and what this term actually meant (Carroll 1999). This coincided with a marked increase in public expectations of, and NGO pressure on corporate behavior (Carroll and Shabana 2010; Kreng and Huang 2011). Davis (1960, 1973, 1975), Davis and Blomstrom (1966), Frederick (1960), Johnston (1971) and Walton (1967) in particular, made persuasive arguments about the role of business in society. Frederick (1960), for example, explained how the idea of social responsibilities and ethics forcibly emerged out of the collapse of free market capitalism, but saw its emergence as a way to maintain the status quo. He suggested that company resources should be used for broad social goals, not only for the pursuit of private interests (Frederick 1960).

By the 1970s, Murphy (1978) regarded this period as the ‘awareness’ and ‘issue’ evolution of CSR. There was increased recognition that the social landscape was not free of problems – urban decay, racial discrimination and pollution (Carroll and Shabana 2010) – and that business was granted social powers (Davis 1967). As a result, corporations had a responsibility to be “trustees of society’s resources” (Davis

1975, 20) reflecting a social contract (Davis 1960) between society and business (Moir 2001) that required businesses to use their social power in a manner that brought benefit to society (Davis 1967). Social responsibility also had strong links to gaining and maintaining legitimacy ('acceptance') that occurred within "a socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions" (Suchman 1995, 574). These values involved governments (DiMaggio and Powell 1983), employees and communities (Moir 2001) concerning what is right, proper and appropriate corporate conduct (Dowling and Pfeffer 1975; Suchman 1995). There were consequences if corporations abused this social power, something Davis and Bloomsdale (1975, 50) referred to as the "Iron Law of Responsibility": "In the long run, those who do not use power in a manner which society considers responsible, will tend to lose it".

Bowen and Davis, among others, led the socially proactive argument of CSR, which was anchored in a strong socialist agenda; social problems and general welfare were the responsibility of business. However, the evolving conversation became controversially polarised (Crane *et al.* 2008) when Milton Friedman entered the CSR debate, arguing that social wealth and wellbeing would automatically be fulfilled once a firm's economic objectives had been achieved (1962, 1970). Based on neoclassical economic orthodoxy, Friedman's neo-conservative brand of CSR saw companies' welfare function in the successful pursuit of private profits, yet strongly argued against the assumption of other responsibilities (Weyzig 2009). Friedman's widely-cited dictum indicated that:

There is one and only one social responsibility of business – to use its resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits so long as it stays within the rules of the game, which is to say, engage in open and free competition, without deception or fraud (Friedman 2009, 133).

and that:

Few trends could so thoroughly undermine the very foundations of our free society as the acceptance by corporate officials of a social responsibility other than to make as much money for their stockholders as possible (Friedman 2009, 133).

As a result, managers were directly responsible to shareholders, while all other stakeholders of the corporation (employees, suppliers, consumers, community) were

protected by the competitive markets and the rules prescribed by the legal system (Friedman 2009; Kakabadse *et al.* 2005). This economic conservatism and its variants still remain powerfully entrenched in Western thinking (Korhonen 2002). Friedman was not alone in his criticism of CSR and his views were echoed in the writings of Drucker (2004) and Henderson (2001a, 2001b), who collectively suggested that the idea of stakeholders, the notion of stakeholder engagement and CSR reporting and verification processes placed unjustified demands on corporations (Weyzig 2009).

With this prevailing economic ethos being embedded institutionally and intellectually on the one side (by Friedman, Levitt, etc.) and a socialist agenda on the other (by Bowen, Davis, Johnston, Walton, etc.), the concept of “enlightened self-interest” – as a bridge between the two perspectives of CSR – prevailed in the 1970s (Lee 2008, 58). This influential concept has since come to underpin much of contemporary thinking about CSR. Wallich and McGowan (1970), for example, argued that it was in fact within the corporation’s best interest, in the long term, to be socially minded. Similarly, Davis (1967, 1973) acknowledged that healthy and well-performing companies were dependent on healthy environments in which they operated. As a result, links emerged between the practice of ‘goodness’ and enhanced reputation and greater employee loyalty and retention (Moir 2001). Keim (1978), for example, suggested that CSR activities were only necessary if, and when, a corporation could achieve economic gains from such activities. These commentaries prompted the emergence of a brand of CSR more amenable to business interests.

Elsewhere, conventional theories of the firm were disproving the legality of CSR. ‘Agency Theory’, for instance, proposed the existence of some form of contract between the principal and the agent and firms were contractually bound to maximise shareholder value (Coase 1937, 1991; Eisenhardt 1989a; Jensen and Meckling 1976; Kristoffersen *et al.* 2005). Thus, managers (agents) would be acting contrary to the duties and responsibilities for which they had been employed, if they were to pursue other interests than those of their shareholders (Obalola 2008). The notion of ‘property rights’ was also discussed in such a way that motivated corporations to maximise shareholder wealth (Banerjee 2007). With an “economic

imperialism” (Lazear 2000, 99) that shaped daily practices, business systems and firm management (Korhonen 2002) prevailed, the 1970s CSR debate took place within an era characterised by profit maximisation (Hay and Gray 1974). This manifested in drawing increased attention to the performance, management and efficiency drivers of a firm (Banerjee 2007; Korhonen 2002; Lee 2008). For Brooks (2010, 604), this demonstrated how CSR became “imprisoned” by the boundaries of economic rationalism.

2.3.3 Conceptual Transition of CSR

By the late 1970s, the majority of CSR theorists began to embrace the idea of social responsibilities (Bichta 2003), although the field lacked a universally accepted theoretical framework through which conceptual, research and policy perspectives could flourish (Preston 1975; Zenisek 1979). Consequently, the late 1970s to 1980s became known for the normative and instrumental expansion of CSR theory. Ackerman (1973), Murray (1976) and Sethi (1975) were some of the primary contributors in this regard, but it was the ‘responsiveness’ model (see Frederick 1978; Nasi *et al.* 1997; Wartick and Cochran 1985) and the corporate social ‘performance’ (CSP) model (see Carroll 1979; Wartick and Cochran 1985; Wood and Jones 1995; Wood 1991) that attracted the most attention. As a consequence, continued interest was maintained in scoping the relationship between social and financial performance in the 1980s (see Arlow and Gannon 1982; Aupperle *et al.* 1985; Cochran and Wood 1984; McWilliams and Siegel 2000; Waddock and Graves 1997; Wartick and Cochran 1985), which endured throughout the 1990s (see Swanson 1995; Wood 1991; Wood and Jones 1995).

Frederick (1994, 150) described this 1970s to 1980s period as a “maturing of business-and-society thought”, in which philosophical-ethical arguments about CSR (“CSR 1”) were replaced by a focus on managerial action and responsiveness (“CSR 2”). In 1986, Frederick proposed “CSR 3”, implanting a stronger ethical core into managerial decision-making, thereby permitting “a systematic critique of businesses’ impact upon human consciousness, human community and human continuity” (Frederick 1986, 2006, 89). As a result, Moir (2001) suggests that these views were in fundamental opposition to those held by neoclassical economists.

In line with this continued interest in managerial responses and actions toward CSR, Carroll (1991) extended his earlier 1979 analysis into a “Pyramid of Corporate Social Responsibility”, thereby suggesting that business had four key responsibilities. At the bottom of the period of CSR, economic responsibilities suggest business is expected to operate for an economic purpose. At the next level, legal responsibilities indicate that business must pursue its economic goals within the boundaries of the law. The third level – ethical responsibility – requests business to make decisions that are right, just and fair. Lastly, philanthropic/discretionary responsibility suggests business should undertake those activities that are desirable to society’s betterment and that society expects of a good corporate citizen. As Matten *et al.* (2003) pointed out, the latter two categories are central to CSR, as they go beyond mere compliance and the corporation’s legal obligations. The significant conceptual and empirical attention that has been devoted to these studies demonstrates their importance in the evolution of CSR (Schwartz and Carroll 2003). However, as Brooks (2010) suggests, the pyramid of responsibilities outlined by Carroll (1991) implies that corporations should prioritise economic concerns before social ones, thereby further cementing the pyramid’s instrumental and economic character (Brook 2010).

2.3.4 CSR Reaches New Heights

A significant development in the evolution of CSR was stakeholder theory. According to Carroll (2008), Johnston (1971) was one of the first writers to allude to the idea that corporations had responsibilities to a wider pool of stakeholders by stating:

A socially responsible firm is one whose managerial staff balances a multiplicity of interests. Instead of striving only for larger profits for its stockholders, a responsible enterprise also takes into account employees, suppliers, dealers, local communities, and the nation (Johnston 1971, 50).

However, as a result of Freeman’s (1984) seminal views on stakeholder management, and stakeholder theory in particular, CSR gained increased legitimacy (McWilliams and Siegel 2001). Stakeholder theory emerged as the central model explaining the organisational-environment relationship underpinning CSR (Banerjee

2005) by stressing that “managers must formulate and implement processes which satisfy all and only those groups who have a stake in the business” (Freeman and McVea 2001, 8). The model differed from conventional theories (e.g. Agency Theory) that ignored and marginalised other stakeholder interests (Banerjee 2005). According to Carroll (1991, 43):

There is a natural fit between the idea of corporate social responsibility and an organisation’s stakeholders ... [because] the concept of stakeholder personalises social or societal responsibilities by delineating the specific groups or persons business should consider in its CSR orientation.

As CSR seeks to define which responsibilities business should be concerned with, the stakeholder concept provides the mechanism to explore which groups in society corporations should be responsible to (Donaldson and Preston 1995; Freeman 1984), and thus the interdependency of both concepts becomes apparent (Kakabadse *et al.* 2005). In this respect, stakeholder theory is shown to represent an essential process in the operation of CSR (Matten *et al.* 2003), and is thereby regarded as, not surprisingly, the dominant paradigm in CSR (McWilliams and Siegel 2001). However, it is not unproblematic. The way stakeholder management plays out on the ground, for example, is shaped significantly by “stakeholder salience” (Neville *et al.*, 2011, 369), that is, whether stakeholders hold power, legitimacy and urgency (Mitchell *et al.*, 1997; Agle *et al.*, 1999). These salience factors, therefore, determine the access to, and the subsequent effectiveness of, stakeholder dialogue mechanisms (O’Riordan and Fairbrass 2006).

Furthermore, throughout the 1980s and 1990s, a new range of business-society concepts were developed in parallel with CSR and these challenged its precedence. Consequently, CSR can be viewed as a cluster construct overlapping with a variety of alternative concepts and themes that lie external to it, that are used to exchange with, redefine or even replace it (Gustavson 2008; Matten and Moon 2004). These concepts include sustainability, sustainable development, environmental responsibility, corporate philanthropy, social action, socially responsible investment, management by values, business ethics, the triple bottom line, community involvement and socially responsible investment. Corporate social performance (CSP) and corporate social responsiveness are constructs that internally

challenge CSR (Kercher 2007; Garriga and Mele 2004; Lorenzo *et al.* 2009; Silberhorn and Warren 2007). In more recent debates, concepts such as corporate citizenship, corporate responsibility, corporate sustainability and corporate social accountability have been proposed (Banerjee 2007, 2008; Garriga and Mele 2004). Some of these terms are similar, yet many have contrasting meanings (Silberhorn and Warren 2007). Providing further clarity to the substance of these defining debates is beyond the scope of this thesis.

2.4 Contemporary CSR

Much of the important and influential work on CSR has been largely normative and descriptive in nature, focusing on devising a definition of CSR and delineating the boundaries of responsibility (Campbell 2007; Matten *et al.* 2003; Quazi and O'Brien 2000). Even with the considerable scholarly attention focused on bringing clarity to the concept (Dobers and Springett 2010; Galbreath 2006), few agree as to what the term means and why or how it should be implemented (Dahlsrud 2008; Lantos 2001; O'Riordan and Fairbrass 2008; Stigson 2002; Welford 2004; Zenisek 1979). The CSR landscape displays a variety of ideologies and value judgments, leaving the construct contested among scholars, practitioners, governments and non-government organisations (Kristoffersen *et al.* 2005). Consequently, CSR theory has emerged as a disparate, as opposed to a coherent, theory and set of practices (Baron 2001), and is infused with, as well as confused by, a variety of similar yet differing constructs, including those mentioned previously (Gustavson 2008). As a result, CSR has become shrouded in complexity; the concept is vague, ambiguous, fragmented and open to much interpretation (Dahlsrud 2008; Galbreath 2006; Kercher 2007; Lantos 2001; Matten and Moon 2008; Moon, Crane and Matten 2005; Moon 2002; Thomas and Nowak 2006; van Marrewijk 2003; Windsor 2001).

Votaw's succinct articulation of the problem of CSR captures well the contemporary CSR landscape (1973, 11-12 cited in Carroll 1999, 280):

The term social responsibility is a brilliant one; it means something but not always the same thing, to everybody. To some it conveys the idea of

legal responsibility or liability; to others it means socially responsible behaviour in an ethical sense; still to others, the meaning transmitted is that of 'responsible for,' in a causal mode; many simply equate it with 'charitable contributions'; some take it to mean socially 'conscious' or 'aware'; many of those who embrace it most fervently see it as mere synonym for 'legitimacy' in the context of 'belonging' or being proper or valid; a few see it as a sort of fiduciary duty imposing higher standards of behaviour on businessmen than on citizens at large. Even the antonyms, socially 'irresponsible' and 'non responsible', are subject to multiple interpretations.

Consequently, it is difficult to conclude this 'Intellectual Journey of CSR' with a single, universally accepted definition (Kercher 2007; Scherer and Palazzo 2007) or a definitive CSR paradigm (Godfrey and Hatch 2007). Orlitzky (2005, 51) suggested that the fragmentation of the debate left CSR "conceptually meaningless and utterly unrecognisable". Dahlsrud (2008), for instance, noted 36 alternative definitions. The European Commission's (2011, 4) definition, for example, includes stakeholder, social, environmental and voluntary aspects as "a concept whereby companies integrate social and environmental concerns into their business operations and into their interactions with stakeholders on a voluntary basis". In defining CSR, Carroll (1991, 42) affirmed that "the CSR firm should strive to make a profit, obey the law, be ethical, and be a good corporate citizen". These two conceptualisations reflect the most popular European and American definitions respectively and illustrate the Anglo-Saxon perspective (Amaeshi and Adi 2007).

But there are alternatives. Blowfield and Frynas (2005) chose to understand CSR as an overarching theory and practice and several authors have taken this broad view (see Frynas 2009a and Frynas 2009b for example in the context of oil and gas multinational corporations). This perspective suggests that corporations should have: 1) responsibility for their impact on society and the natural environment – sometimes beyond that of legal compliance and the liability of individuals, 2) responsibility for the behaviour of others with whom they do business (e.g. within supply chains), and 3) manage their relationship with wider society, be that for commercial viability or to add value to society. Campbell (2007) took an explicitly ethical approach to defining CSR: A CSR firm must not knowingly do anything that could harm their stakeholders, and if they do so, then they must rectify it whenever it is discovered and brought to their attention. By placing a behavioural emphasis on a minimal

standard for more responsible and acceptable behaviours, this conceptualisation differs considerably from the conventional literature (Auld *et al.* 2008). Banerjee (2007) suggested the key features of CSR to include: 1) corporations should pay attention to social and environmental issues, 2) corporations should behave ethically and with integrity, across their operations, 3) corporations should reach out to the community by enhancing social welfare and providing community support (e.g. philanthropy). As a consequence, CSR activities must 'exceed' a corporation's economic and legal responsibilities (Banerjee 2005).

Nevertheless, CSR continues to evolve, without a precise articulation or boundary definition (Kercher 2007; McWilliams *et al.* 2006; Dahlsrud 2008; Weber 2008). It is also seen to be highly context-dependent within individual companies and an individual's ethical and moral preferences, but as will be shown next, CSR is also shaped and defined by the macro contextual circumstances that demonstrate the importance of institutional dynamics within CSR (Kakabadse *et al.* 2005; Frynas 2008).

2.5 Institutional Dynamics of CSR

Argandoña and Von Weltzien Hoivik (2009) suggest that CSR is the result of a manifestation of different historical, socio-economic, cultural, legal and political circumstances, making the development of a single-unified global CSR construct almost impossible. The significance of these contextual factors, upon the content of CSR strategies, policies and programs, has been demonstrated (see, for example, Gjølborg 2009a; Moon 2007; Hiss 2009; Idowu and Filho 2008; Stiftung 2006). Much of our contemporary theoretical understanding reflects the American context where the Western conception of CSR emerged (Banerjee 2005; Newell 2005). In the last few decades, increased attention has been placed on the evolving UK and European CSR agendas (Banerjee 2005; Moon 2004). Thus, the current theoretical ideas largely reflect the Anglo-Saxon perspective (Blowfield and Frynas 2005; Newell 2005). In recent years, there has been increased interest in demonstrating how and why CSR practices differ among countries of origin (Idowu and Filho 2008). What this body of work demonstrates is that the form and meaning of CSR

remains highly contested, as a result of state interventions and the formal institutions of stakeholder involvement (Brammer *et al.* 2012).

Gjølberg's (2009a) analysis, for example, shows CSR practice and performance differ among twenty advanced capitalist countries on CSR and sustainability reporting, philanthropy, corporate governance and business governance relations. In their edited book, Idowu and Filho (2008) demonstrate the diversity of CSR practices in the six geographic regions – Americas, Europe, East Asia, Middle East and Africa and Australasia. There is also a considerable body of comparative studies that explore regional and national differences (see, for example, Aguilera *et al.* 2006; Doh and Guay 2006; Letica 2008; Maignan and Ralston 2002). Others have explored cross national differences, for example, Lofstedt and Vogel (2001) compared the Europe/EU and USA and Shen (2004) and Welford (2004, 2005) compared the Europe/EU, North America and Asia/China.

According to Matten and Moon (2004), CSR patterns in America and Europe can be distinguished as being either 'implicit' – reflecting the values, norms and rulings of the country's formal and informal institutions, or 'explicit' – where corporations themselves drive their own CSR agenda. Matten and Moon (2008) went on to suggest that there exists a distinction between implicit CSR in coordinated economies and explicit CSR in liberal economies, depending on the level of institutionalisation of CSR. Welford (2005) compared the CSR practices of fifteen countries and suggested that there was a link between a country's level of economic development and the nature of its CSR practices. Williams and Aguilera (2008) explained that the intensity and nature of social problems in different countries demand different CSR strategies. For example, in developed nations, global warming and terrorism may be topical social issues, while in developing countries, poverty, HIV/Aids, clean water and electricity may define the CSR agenda. This means that managerial attitudes toward CSR policy and practice will vary considerably across international borders (e.g. Gjølberg 2009a, 2009b; Kakabadse *et al.* 2005; Maignan and Ralston 2002), and multinational corporations may find themselves in the position of juggling varying CSR expectations whilst operating in different countries (Blowfield and Frynas 2005).

Several authors have not only explored the differences between managerial thoughts and actions toward CSR in various countries (e.g. Geppert *et al.* 2006; Tempel and Walgenbach 2007), they have also suggested that contextual attributes and institutional factors shape the application of CSR. For example, Gjolberg's (2009b) research found that the nature of a company's domestic institutional environment has an effect on a company's willingness to commit to, and practice, CSR. Detomasi (2008) also advanced this political and institutional argument by suggesting that the domestic institutions and the overall political structure impact on a company's willingness to engage in, and carry out, CSR. Specifically, Detomasi points to the type of government, their ideologies and state/societal structures as key elements that shape the values of industry-government relations and their formal structures. National governments in the UK and Europe have been key drivers of the evolving UK and European CSR agenda (Banerjee 2005; Moon 2007). This situation may be contrasted with Australia, for example, where corporations had been seen to be lagging behind their international counterparts (Gustavson 2008).

Accordingly, these comparative examples suggest that "corporate choices about these strategies are colored by their social and political context" (Matten and Moon 2008, 407). Thus, CSR's "precise unfolding at the company level cannot be understood without a reference to political-economic dynamics at the national and global level" (Gjolberg 2009b, 627). However, the impact of these contextual variables and specific institutional contexts – the social norms, beliefs, practices, routines, networks, regulations, other institutional characteristics and other variables – on managerial rationality, rarely feature strongly in the mainstream CSR debate (Amaeshi and Amao 2009; Jackson and Apostolakou 2010).

These studies share a common theoretical lens of institutional theory, which explains the adaptation of firms to institutions in a given nation or industry (Brammer *et al.* 2012). CSR is then viewed as a function of existing informal 'institutions' – norms, standards, customary and tribal practices – and formal 'institutions' – laws, business associations, civil society groups or trade unions (Brammer *et al.* 2012). As a consequence, similar CSR practices may be used by different companies (Islam and Deegan 2008). For Brammer *et al.* (2012), the application of institutional theory in the area of CSR can assist with: 1)

understanding how and why CSR assumes different forms in different countries; 2) explaining why CSR has global applicability and, 3) by employing the notion of “varieties of capitalism” (Hall and Soskice 2001, 1). Accordingly, it is suggested that the most desirable and efficient systems for harbouring socially responsible practices can be identified. As such, institutional theory provides a useful framework for understanding the “diversity of CSR” and the “dynamics of CSR” (Brammer *et al.* 2012, 7).

However, the ‘socio-political construction of CSR’, the context of this research, can be demonstrated through another theoretical channel identified within the CSR area, that of political economy. Political economy does not constitute one specific field of research but is characterised by different strands of academic inquiry (see Appendix 2 for a ‘snapshot’ of the key themes and scholars). These perspectives are united by a common concern about how political and economic systems work and how the institutions that are embedded within them function (Parkinson *et al.* 2001). As explained by Jackson (1982, 72, cited in Cooper 2004, 31):

Political Economy is the study of the interplay of power, the goals of power wielder and the productive exchange system (Zald 1970, 233). As a framework, political economy does not concentrate exclusively on market exchanges. Rather it first of all analyses in whatever institutional framework they occur and, second, analyses the relationship between social institutions such as government, law, and property rights, each fortified by power and the economy.

Political economy is considered to be an interdisciplinary tradition spanning the social sciences, humanities, sociology, geography, in addition to communication and education (Sumner 2008), and more recently, management and organisational theory (e.g. Banerjee 2007; Midttun 2008). In contrast to institutional theory, political economy is attentive to the relations between the state, market and civil society and the power variances imbued within. The components – ‘the company’, ‘the public sector’, ‘the civil society’ – do not function separately, rather they act as an interconnected, complex whole (Parkinson *et al.* 2001). The literature on political economy is attentive to the mechanisms for economic growth and capital accumulation as well as political instability, political freedom, democratic

institutions, income inequality and variances of power that define relations between institutional groups (Alesina and Perotti 1995).

Political economy provides a suite of sense-making tools that apply a broader lens ('macro') to the lexicon of CSR than commonly occurs within mainstream CSR research agenda (i.e. 'micro'). In the interests of CSR, there have been several key streams of analysis identified. As Banerjee (2007, 2008) suggests, Critical Political Economy (CPE) provides a mechanism to explore dynamic sites of power between corporations, governments, international bodies, NGOs and other societal players in the political economy that serve to create and shape the rules of the game for participating in the economy. CPE is distinguished from other themes as it has a focus on structure, strategy, agency and context (Banerjee 2007). According to Amaeshi and Amao (2009) and Campbell (2007), Comparative Political Economy literature may be usefully applied to CSR by examining how political and economic institutions vary across national jurisdictions and how this shapes the socio-economic outcomes.

As this chapter's final sections demonstrate, the notion of political economy brings with it some powerful conceptual tools. The underlying drivers as to why political economy is problematised will be discussed next.

2.6 CSR Effectiveness

As noted in the 'Intellectual Journey of CSR', early conceptualisations of CSR (pre-1960s) showed how social responsibility was rationalised from an altruistic and moral standpoint, where being good was simply the right thing to do (e.g. Bowen 1953). Today, an alternative conception of social responsibility has been advanced, rationalised on the basis of making good economic business sense (Idemudia 2009). Over the past 30 years, the 'business case for CSR' has achieved notable prominence (Schreck 2011). The discourse that underpins this suggests that corporations' bottom lines improve when they consider their social and environmental impacts as this can enhance their reputation, help minimise their risks, realise efficiency gains and enhance stakeholder value (Branco and Rodrigues 2006; Hart 1997; Kotler and Lee 2005; Lantos 2001; McWilliams and Siegel 2001;

O’Riordan and Fairbrass 2008; Porter and Kramer 2002, 2006, 2007; Schreck 2011). The discourse is linked to a ‘win-win’ ideology, which suggests companies can be profitable and contribute to the welfare of communities in which they operate (Banerjee 2007; González and Martinez 2004; Schreck 2011). Given this, social responsibility initiatives, such as partnership approaches to development projects, are simply rational economic decisions (Idemudia 2007b, 2009). This CSR logic has become the dominant message broadcast by development elites from the northern hemisphere and by proponents of the capitalist strands of CSR theory.

Since the 1980s and 1990s, the mainstream CSR agenda continues to be dominated by the desire to demonstrate the positive financial and economic performance ‘outcomes’ to be gained by a corporation’s adoption of CSR. In fact, Margolis and Walsh (2003) identified 127 empirical studies, published between 1972 and 2002, that examined the relationship between CSR and profitability. The belief that CSR initiatives feed directly into a company’s bottom line remains pervasive within CSR scholarship despite little evidence to confirm these conclusions (Banerjee 2005, 2007; Igalens and Gond 2005; Margolis *et al.* 2007; Vial 2007; Orlitzky 2008; Schreck 2011). Similarly, it is often assumed that the mechanisms for improving social and environmental conduct – the numerous codes of conduct, ethical trading initiatives and certification measures – are effective and provide suitable protection for those in most need (Newell 2005).

Despite corporations’ “emancipatory rhetoric” (Banerjee 2008, 51), scholars have in previous years questioned the social and environmental efficacy of many CSR practices and strategies (e.g. Fig 2005; Frynas 2005, 2008, 2009a, 2009b; Lund-Thomsen 2005). For example, Zappala (2010) questioned the capacity of CSR to address global social problems such as poverty and social inclusion, inequality and environmental security. Palazzo and Scherer (2008) highlighted the way companies with ‘good’ CSR credentials continue to find themselves at the centre of community outrage and in some cases, costly litigation. Hanlon (2008) suggested that the most obvious problem with the business case thesis for CSR is that it treats CSR as a commodity, and has therefore been developed for ‘exchange’, not its ‘use’ value.

The resources sector, one of the primary champions and leaders of the CSR movement (Frynas 2009a, 2009b), is becoming increasingly the focus of critical research and advocacy concerning industry-community conflicts (Kemp *et al.* 2011). This is already evident within the political-ecology literature, where considerable interest has been directed towards the character of natural resource conflicts (e.g. Gedicks 1993; Ballard and Banks 2003; Nygren 2004; Coumans 2011; Nie 2003; Muradian *et al.* 2003; Muradian *et al.* 2004). A significant portion of the research has explored high-profile conflict cases with the aim of identifying ‘what went wrong’ (Kemp *et al.* 2011). Bebbington (2010), Calvano (2008), Idemudia (2007a, 2009) and Warnars (2012) have articulated these conflicts with specific reference to CSR theory. Apparently, an ongoing problem for the industry is that the design, implementation and practice of CSR policy rarely refer directly to the negative economic, social and environmental consequences of resource operations (Frynas 2005). Thus, current CSR policy and practice is shaped more around the percentage of after-tax profits being invested into social development causes and royalties than on how the profits were made in the first place (Hamann 2003). However, Idemudia (2009) questions why, despite the ‘win-win’ philosophy of mainstream CSR, some resource companies find themselves unable to secure their social license to operate without conflict and confrontation. Evidently, the literature also suggests significant problems with the implementation of self-regulation in the resources sector (Nwete 2007).

Given the dominance of the business case within mainstream CSR, Blowfield (2005) suggests that this discourse has set the boundaries for CSR in practice; especially, the underlying strategic ambitions of image enhancement and performance management are revealed as central concerns shaping the CSR agenda today (Doane 2005; Moon 2007; Newell 2005; Salls 2004). For Zappalla (2010) and Frynas (2008), if CSR continues to be defined by dominant business school models which are linked to the ‘modern world view’ and exemplify the ideal world of the ‘win-win’ ideology (Banerjee 2005), CSR is not the tool to advance social outcomes. Evidently, CSR exists within the framework of the markets and so market-based incentives for companies continue to dominate academic foci (Doane 2005); this, however, has reinforced the shareholder maxim thesis. Similarly, Brooks (2010)

argues that the continued focus on the performance aspects of CSR demonstrates the intention to locate the concept within the discourses of economic rationalism – also suggesting that mainstream CSR practitioners are more interested in advocating the business benefits than its moral and altruistic character.

With its excessive emphasis on corporate social performance and the business case (Brooks 2010; Lee 2008), the CSR discipline also lacks well-defined methodologies that explore the lived CSR experience for communities (Blowfield 2007; Prieto-Carron *et al.* 2006). These communities are also arguably the intended beneficiaries of CSR practices (Banerjee 2007), despite isolated attempts to explore the community view point (e.g. Mikkilä 2003, 2005). Thus, critical research into the sociological insights of CSR policy and practice using qualitative methodologies are especially important for the continued development of the theory (Banerjee 2005, 2008, 2010; Greenwood 2001; Harrison and Freeman 1999; Jeurissen and van Luijk 1998; Mikkilä 2005; Quazi and O'Brien 2000).

2.7 Toward a Deconstruction of CSR

The emergence of CSR stems largely from debates about globalisation, the revelations of environmental and social abuses within the operations and supply chains of high-profile and high-profit companies based in the Northern Hemisphere (Fox 2004) and from the recognition of the ineffectiveness of many governmental and intergovernmental processes to meet global social challenges (Auld *et al.* 2008). The expansion of the 'CSR space' demonstrates the magnitude of support for the caring and "friendly face of corporate capitalism" (Doane and Abasta-Vilaplana 2005, 23), but ongoing concerns remain about the current conceptualisation of CSR and the dominant mainstream research agenda. As outlined within the introductory chapter, this mainstream scholarship fails to acknowledge that CSR does not exist within a neutral terrain, but instead within a politically contested one (Idemudia 2010), where "structural biases" operate to define and in some cases, constrain CSR policy and practice (Blowfield and Frynas 2005, 504). These complexities indicate that CSR is further burdened and more problematic and dynamic than has been suggested by the mainstream agenda.

A deconstruction of CSR policy involves critically assessing its strengths and weaknesses (Blowfield and Frynas 2005). By moving away from narrowly defined questions about CSR and its potential contribution to profitability (Blowfield and Frynas 2005), greater critical attention may be given to the impact of power, politics, structural and ideological influences and mechanisms for societal governance in shaping, defining and limiting the CSR agenda (Banerjee 2007, 2008, 2010; Blowfield and Frynas 2005; Frynas 2005). The attention may raise questions about the influence of embedded structural mechanisms that “predicate and preference certain normative behaviour” over others (Blowfield 2005a, 176). Such a focus may also reveal whether CSR conforms to the style of development agenda being embraced (social democratic, libertarian or neoconservative) (Blowfield and Frynas 2005), or whether “CSR is actually compatible with today’s global capitalism” (Enoch 2007, 80).

The former president of the World Bank James Wolfensohn suggested that “perhaps [a] critical look at the system ... may reveal the limits of what corporations can and cannot do to address societal ills” (cited in Banerjee 2007, 127). As the language of capital accumulation and efficiency prevails within Western capitalist discourse and most traditional theories of the firm, this appears to define social responsibility and the level of morality within the political economy (Banerjee 2010). There is also evidence to suggest that these forces and/or institutional pressures within the political economy are critical determinants of CSR’s effectiveness (Auld *et al.* 2008; Banerjee 2008; Detomasi 2008). As a consequence, there is a need to make visible the dominant “assumptions, prejudices and limitations” that embed the ongoing discourse and practice of CSR within the political economy (Blowfield 2005a, 173).

It has been suggested that even the most enlightened examples of CSR seen today can be limited and constrained by structurally embedded restrictions, existing within the wider political systems and mechanisms for societal governance (Gulbrandsen and Moe 2007). For example, in Idemudia’s (2010, 841) research into the CSR practices of multinational corporations (MNCs) in Nigeria, “systemic deficiencies inherent within CSR initiatives at the level of design and implementation” were revealed. Idemudia (2008) identified the tendency by oil

MNCs to use CSR to meet business objectives, which resulted in limited contextual analysis of the development needs of the local communities, thereby becoming central to the ongoing conflict. However, within the mainstream CSR scholarship, there are:

Unasked important questions about the structural biases of CSR, and [this] means that the ways in which ideology informs and influences the possibilities of CSR are either unacknowledged or regarded as unproblematic (Blowfield and Frynas 2005, 504).

By deconstructing CSR policy, visible tensions can be explored critically. These exist between companies and their development proposals, in the way that CSR is determined, enforced and made locally relevant, and within the socio-political contexts in which these activities take place (Brueckner and Mamun 2010; Newell 2005). Therefore, the processes, interactions, relationships and politics shrouding its very nature become the focus of analysis (Idemudia 2008). This kind of analysis involves critical attention to the relationships between major actors and institutions – corporations, governments, international institutions, NGOs and others, in addition to the structural and discursive mechanisms of power that define these relations (Banerjee 2007). Banerjee (2008) explains how these interact to produce a particular kind of political economy and define the rules for participating. In the CSR literature, very few have undertaken a systematic and detailed analysis of power, which is central to the CSR construct (Banerjee 2007, 2010; Gordon 2005). These analytical gaps exemplify a limited understanding of the contemporary social responsibility landscape (Brammer *et al.* 2012), and furthermore provide crucial context to the position and theoretical background of this thesis.

2.8 Chapter Conclusion

At present, there is a “hegemonic business orientated model” focused on the “right way of doing things” (Shamir 2002, 13), that is “neither a fad nor an optional extra” (Bowd *et al.* 2006, 147). In this chapter, the CSR landscape was mapped out around key themes. The historical perspectives of CSR demonstrated the evolution of CSR from a practitioner and institutional point of view. This led to an intellectual journey of CSR, in which a series of concepts and ideas, rather than a conclusive

CSR paradigm, was identified. The institutional dynamics of CSR showed how CSR is a socio-political phenomenon. Two broad theoretical frameworks were introduced – institutional theory and political economy – both capturing the wider structural dynamics of CSR. However, political economy is more attentive to the relations between the economy, community and political spheres, and the variances of power between these.

Because the ‘win-win’ ideology underlying the business case for CSR tends to dominate the scholarly landscape, there is an evident need for a broader effort to establish the basis for CSR effectiveness that includes the sociological aspects of CSR. As serious doubts remain as to the moral standing of current definitions of CSR and the system it functions within, the section scoping the deconstruction of CSR revealed a more comprehensive research agenda that investigates components of CSR policy and practice. The agenda proposes an exploration of the broader political and institutional dynamics within the political economy that are seen to shape, define and limit the CSR agenda, using specific development/socio-political contexts. As this research seeks to contribute to the literature advocating a new critical research agenda, the following chapter will present a new theoretical imagining for CSR, which aims to critically assess its current policy and practice.

CHAPTER 3 THE ‘SPACES OF CSR’ FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter showed how the CSR concept is more complex, ‘loaded’ and problematic than is generally acknowledged within mainstream CSR scholarship. There are significant conceptual and analytical weaknesses as a result of the dominance of the ‘win-win’ philosophy associated with the business case logic. In responding to calls for a deconstruction of CSR at the level of the political economy (e.g. Banerjee 2007, 2010), as stated previously, this thesis’ position acknowledges that CSR does not exist within an ideologically neutral terrain, but a politically contested one (Idemudia 2010), where “structural biases” operate to define and, in some cases, constrain CSR policy and practice (Blowfield and Frynas 2005, 504).

It is suggested that through the framework developed in this chapter, which I refer to as the ‘spaces of CSR’, it is possible to explore the ideological, structural and power asymmetries that characterise CSR and add depth and critique to the traditional landscape of CSR as presented in Chapter 2. Moreover, given the framework’s connection with the everyday lived experience defined by struggles and resistance, the key sociological themes, shown to be limited within CSR policy and practice, can also be explored. This is made possible through a framework that connects the concepts of governmentality, the rationalities and technologies that underpin government, and spatiality, how spatial sensibilities are used strategically by actors. This chapter begins by suggesting the need to re-position CSR as occurring in relational space, as a way to acknowledge the various forces, flows and politics within its constitution.

3.2 CSR as Relational Space

Over recent decades, the acknowledgment that “social life is materially constituted in its spatiality” (Soja 1996, 94) has been the theoretical driver of the “spatial turn” witnessed across various disciplines within the social sciences,

especially human geography and sociology. The study draws upon such critical thinkers as Harvey (1973, 2005, 2006), Lefebvre (1991) and Soja (1989, 1996) among others. We may begin with Lefebvre's statement that "space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations, but is also producing and produced by social relations" (1991, 286). Space and place are continually unfolding and evolving as a consequence of, and a contributor to, the construction of social relations (Warf and Arias 2008). Space has, as a result, been elevated to "new levels of material and ideological significance" (Warf and Arias 2008, 5), attracting the same critical and interpretive attention to that which has traditionally been given to the once dominant concepts of time and history (Soja 1989).

It is therefore assumed that no social or cultural phenomenon – for instance, CSR policy and practice – can in fact be separated from its spatial context. As Warf and Arias (2008, 7) explain, "the social, the temporal, the intellectual, and the personal are inescapably always and everywhere also the spatial". Consequently, we are encouraged to see the spatial arrangement defining the practice of CSR as occurring in *relational space*, in contrast to the previously dominant absolute and relative constructions of space (Jones 2009, 2010). Such relational views of space involve significant conceptual shifts into the mode of 'relational thinking' by acknowledging the range of possibilities between objects and spaces. These are influenced by a heterogeneous arrangement of physical and social relations, dynamics, flows, patterns, structures and processes, be they political, legal, economic and/or social (Martin *et al.* 2003; Massey 1994, 2005; Valentine *et al.* 2009; Warf and Arias 2008). As space is "continuously being made, unmade and remade" (Jones 2010, 243) by a range of internal and external influences, this in turn affects specific processes and events (Harvey 2004). Space, therefore, is also productive, as Harvey (2004) shows using the following example: our minds absorb a range of external stimuli, which leads to the creation of dreams, fantasies and rational calculation.

According to this relational view, space is rendered significant for being inherently political, as well as geographical, physical and social (Butler 2010; Massey 2005); yet it is a concept that "defies easy summarizing" (Amin 2007, 103), as illustrated:

These new spatialities have become decisive for the constitution of place. The varied processes of spatial stretching, inter-dependence and flow, combine in situ trajectories of socio-spatial evolution and change, to propose place—the city, region or rural area—as a site of intersection between network topologies and territorial legacies. The result is no simple displacement of the local by the global, of place by space, of history by simultaneity and flow, of small by big scale, or of the proximate by the remote. Instead, it is a subtle folding together of the distant and the proximate, the virtual and the material, presence and absence, flow and stasis, into a single ontological plane upon which location—a place on the map—has come to be relationally and topologically defined. Grasping the implications of such a definition of place is not easy, given the grip of cartographic legacy measuring location on the basis of geographical distance and territorial jurisdiction.

What Amin (2007, 103) refers to as the “grip of cartographic legacy” is the long-held philosophical assumption about space in the history of geographical thought. Newton’s conception of space and time framed space in *absolute* terms, an entity in itself independent of whatever objects, relations or events may occupy it (Butler 2010). This was seen to be greatly influenced by the invention of the clock, which measured time independently of events (Warf 2008). Space was a discrete and autonomous container (Jones 2009), not capable of action (Cassini 2005) and always remaining similar and immovable (Newton 1686 cited in Earman 1986). This also meant that individual thoughts were separated from the physical world, mind from matter and thus, individuals from their environments and contexts (Barab *et al.* 1999). Space then, was only capable of being quantitatively mapped and modelled by coordinates, lines and planes (Butler 2010). As Harvey (2005a, 95) suggested:

If we regard space as an absolute, it becomes a ‘thing in itself’ with an existence independent of matter. It then possess a structure which we can use to pigeon-hole or individuate phenomena ... Absolute space is fixed and we record or plan events within its frame. This is the space of Newton and Descartes and it is usually represented as a pre-existing and immovable grid amenable to standardized measurement and open to calculation. Geometrically it is the space of Euclid and therefore the space of all manner of cadastral mapping and engineering practices...

Space has also been discussed in a *relative* sense, which was associated with Einstein and the non-Euclidean geometries (Harvey 2005a). Like absolute space, relative space has been discussed in relation to topography (Jones 2010). In addition, there are several key assumptions underpinning relative space: there are relationships

between objects only because objects exist and are understood to relate to each other (Harvey 2005a); there are no fixed relationships, but there can be multiple geographies that change over time and across space (Harvey 2005a; Jones 2010), and these are also dependent on what is being “relativised and by who[m]” (Harvey 2005a, 94).

A host of classical social scholars – Adam Smith, Karl Marx and Max Weber, among others – elevated the importance of time (history) over space (Harvey 1990). In addition, through the works by Morills (1970) and Haggett (1965), absolute and relative senses of space dominated geographical thought up until the 1970s (Agnew and Corbridge 1995; Merrifield 1993; Valentine *et al.* 2009; Hubbard *et al.* 2004; Crang and Thrift 2000). These conceptualisations were based on neoclassical economics and physics and were grounded in quantitative analysis that linked direction, distance and connection together to a situation which could be mapped and modelled (Hubbard *et al.* 2004). This meant space continued to be nothing more than a “pure, abstract and three dimensional mathematical grid” (Sewell 2001, 53), an interpretation well suited to natural sciences, mathematics and positivist geography (Butler 2010).

The current discourse on relational thinking, and relational space specifically, originated in the philosophical critique by Leibniz framed within non-Euclidean geometry and calculus. For Leibniz, absolute views of space made little sense; instead he proposed the view of relational space to acknowledge the dynamic processes that exist within and between objects (Curry 1996). As Harvey (2005a, 95) explained:

There is another sense which space can be viewed as relative, and I choose to call this relational space – space regarded in the matter of Leibniz, as being contained in objects in the sense that an object can be said to exist only insofar as it contains and represents within itself relationships to other objects.

This relational view of space exists within and beyond the boundaries of geography and as a consequence has ‘morphed’ in various directions (Warf and Arias 2008). However, the theory implicitly connecting these schools of thought is a view of space that replaces the fixed and immovable with a “topological theory of

space, place and politics as encountered, performed and fluid” (Jones 2010, 245-246). French philosopher Henri Lefebvre has been highly significant in this intellectual turn, and his *The Production of Space* (1974/1991) has become one of the most widely cited geography texts in Anglo-American literature (Hubbard *et al.* 2004; Unwin 2000) with his seminal triple dialectic theory of spatiality (Soja 1996; Merrifield 2000). From the 1970s, relational perspectives of space continued to gain prominence through such scholars as Harvey (1973), Castells (1977, 1983), Massey (1994, 2005), Soja (1989, 1996, 2000), Dear (1997) and also Michel Foucault (Hubbard *et al.* 2004).

Imagining space as a social product has been a simple, yet powerful observation (Marston 2000). Warf (2008, 74) pointed out that “geography is not simply territorial, but something altogether different, more complex, and more interesting”. As a consequence, space is thought to play a much greater role in human affairs and the sociology of modern life than has been previously considered (Arias 2010; Soja 1996). Similarly, it is now acknowledged that global social phenomena such as globalisation, neoliberalism and new capitalism, as well as the persistent problems of inequality and poverty, should lead us to think “seriously about space, about the spatiality of the social, about territories and their delimitations” (Therborn 1998, 7).

The theory underlining the relational view of space, representing uncharted territory within CSR scholarship, provides an alternative, more critical way of conceptualising the CSR construct. By acknowledging it from the view of relational space, CSR is conceived as a “swirling, complex, contingent, ever-changing maelstrom of possibilities” (Warf and Arias 2008, 8), influenced by a variety of dynamics, flows and politics (Massey 1994, 2005). Similarly, with relational space being understood to anchor and foster domination, oppression, contestation, liberation, disintegration and other phenomena that define lived everyday experience (Kaspersen and Strandbjerg 2007; Ma 2002), the sociological aspects that are less obvious within CSR scholarship can be captured. Moreover, it is only then that it is possible to understand more fully what a particular location *means* in relational space (see Harvey 2004). In addition, as space is also a site of power, it is possible to better conceptualise the way the lived CSR experience is defined and given shape through

power arrangements (Ma 2002). Enhancing CSR with the addition of a relational perspective, we can see it as something altogether more complex than has been appreciated within mainstream CSR research.

Moreover, thinking about space and spatiality is in the spirit of critical analysis; especially, it can reveal the manner in which certain political questions and arguments are formulated, and can be an essential element in understanding the imaginative structure of social practice. These considerations are essential in revealing the complexity of the socio-political context (Massey 2005).

3.3 The Governmentality Perspective

This thesis is principally concerned with ‘CSR governance’, the conduct and direction of CSR within the political economy (Vallentin and Murillo 2009). Before elaborating on the concept of governmentality and its potential contribution to CSR theory, it is necessary to firstly describe the more common, and conventional approach to analysing CSR governance, informed by governance theory.

3.3.1 Applying Governance Theory to CSR Governance

The study of governance is generally approached in two ways: in a normative sense, governance studies are engaged with shifts in power and political authority, through partnerships, networks and collaborative arrangements between the State, coordinating government departments, private and civil society. The studies suggest that these political transformations are in the spirit of good governance, and thus yield more flexible, equitable and efficient outcomes (Ciccarelli 2008; Goymen 2000; Kooiman 1993; Rose 1999; Vallentin and Murillo 2009). In a descriptive sense, governance studies describe and explain these new patterns and structures (Rose 1999), and suggest the way things should be (Johnston and Shearing 2003). In essence, then, governance can be usefully defined as “the means by which to infuse order, thereby to mitigate conflict and realize mutual gains” (Williamson 2010, 78).

Within the studies informed by the theory of governance, the term CSR governance captures the role of government in relation to CSR and the strategies used to endorse it as an appropriate activity. Zadek (2001) is regarded as seminal in

first identifying government roles for CSR and in describing the emerging government role as identifying the third generation of CSR. As a result, CSR may be conceived as “not only a management approach that can be left to the discretion of managers, but [...] also a highly political concept that entails societal conflicts as well as a considerable scope for new government activities” (Steurer *et al.* 2008, 13).

CSR governance can be broad in scope and can vary considerably in different institutional and national contexts (Fox *et al.* 2002), depending on the political style and processes, institutional and social structure, the emphasis on voluntary or mandatory approaches, the role of NGOs and civil associations, leadership vision and historical traditions (Roome 2005). There can be, for example, mechanisms that facilitate CSR (e.g. by subsidising CSR activities); the involvement in CSR partnerships with companies and civil society organisations, and the use of authority to mandate CSR via mechanisms such as public procurement of responsible business (Moon 2004). These reflect the four key roles identified by the seminal work of Fox *et al.* (2002): mandating (legislative), facilitating (guidelines on content), partnering (engagement with stakeholders and dialogue) and endorsing (publicity and tools). The European Commission’s (2001) *Green Paper: Promoting a European framework for Corporate Social Responsibility* and the subsequent *Communication concerning corporate social responsibility: A business contribution to sustainable development* (European Commission 2002) are illustrative examples of government initiatives within CSR governance (Lozano *et al.* 2009).

Steurer (2010) classified the current investigations of CSR governance into case studies, conceptual analyses and exploratory reviews. As the application of governance in one geographical context differs to another (Bevir *et al.* 2003), those taking an exploratory approach have illustrated various CSR policy initiatives by investigating either one country or a comparison of multiple countries, predominately in Europe/EU (Steurer 2010). Albareda *et al.* (2004) developed a CSR public policy relational approach, taken from the work of Mendoza (1991, 1996), who argued that there was a significant political transformation from the welfare state model to the relational state model. This relational model was characterised by relationships of mutual responsibilities among civil society, private sector and government (Albereda *et al.* 2008). Albareda *et al.* (2007) proposed a relational

model for CSR public policy analysis that captured the voluntary nature of CSR initiatives, emerging new roles, soft tools, multi-stakeholder dialogue, and new governance challenges. The new model led to the development of a four 'ideal' typology model for governmental action on CSR in Europe: *Partnership, Business in the Community, Sustainability and Citizenship* and *Agora*.

Within the governance literature, there has also been interest in the new emerging role of social partnerships within CSR governance, as a result of the crisis of the welfare state and failure of the state to deal with social problems in isolation (e.g. Gribben *et al.* 2001; Nelson and Zadek 2000). González and Martínez (2004) summarise key debates about the voluntary and obligatory case for CSR and analyse internationally and nationally derived initiatives to foster communication in the European Union. Other studies have focused on cross-national differences and their respective CSR cultures. For example, Aaronson and Reeves (2002a, 2002b) found that cultural differences play a key part in government roles toward CSR, by showing a stark contrast between the wide range of initiatives used to promote CSR within some European countries as compared with the United States. Comparing the European and the United States models, Matten and Moon (2008) suggest that these variances are the result of a historically different model of trust and authority relationships in the European context to that of the liberal model adopted in the United States. The authors explain the various approaches in terms of 'Explicit CSR' and 'Implicit CSR'.

Under the banner of governance theory, these studies have brought attention to the changing role of governments and the degree of institutionalisation of CSR, and have delivered recommendations as to how and why governments can strengthen their CSR championing roles (Vallentin and Murillo 2009). The studies contribute to a better understanding of the much needed political strands of CSR research. However, in taking a 'macro' orientation, they also tend to be general, descriptive and superficial (Vallentin and Murillo 2008, 2009; Steurer 2010); especially, they fail to provide a critical diagnosis of the pattern of rule (Rose 1999) that constitutes CSR policy and practice.

In particular, the application of governance theory to analyse CSR governance is considered to limit the analysis of the key aspects that are highlighted as problematic – ideology, networks of power relations and general politics. According to Rose and Miller (1992), studies of governance are limited in their ability to expose the way power plays out through shifting alliances among diverse authorities, to govern economic and social spheres and individual behaviour. Therefore, the way power structures the field of possible thought and action is not the subject of a critical interrogation (Bevir and Gains 2011; Sending and Neumann 2006). Similarly, governance theory is considered to give little attention to the role of ideas, ideologies and values embedded within governing and shaping the structure and function of governance (Bevir and Gains 2011). Consequently, by presenting an over-simplification of the roles of the three sets of actors – civil society, government and the private sector (Fairbrass and Zueva-Owens 2012) – and the relations between them, and power imbalances among them; governance theories can be limited in their ability to account for the complexity of modern governing that is designed to “mitigate conflict and realize mutual gains” (Rose 1999; Williamson 2010, 78).

The suggestion that governing is something much more than the traditional state, civil society and industry model is in accordance with the governmentality perspective. This perspective is guided by an “open and critical relation to strategies for governing, attentive to their presuppositions, their assumptions, their exclusions, their naiveties and their knaveries, their regimes of vision and their spots of blindness” (Rose 1999, 19). The perspective provides a framework to interrogate the practices of the state and the processes and instruments that constitute the field of CSR governance, and includes a detailed analysis of the way power shapes contemporary government relations and practices (Banerjee 2007; Valletín and Murillo 2008, 2009, 2012). This creates a research profile that is critically attentive to power and micro-practices pertaining to networked governance beyond the state (Merlingen 2011).

3.3.2 Governmentality: The Concept

The concept of governmentality emerged from a lecture series by Foucault entitled *Security, Territory, Population* (1977-1978), which featured the lectures

Society Must be Defended, *The Birth of Bio-Politics* and *Governmentality* (Merlingen 2011). These lectures broadly captured the relationships between power and populations and political rule and political economy (Merlingen 2011). Governmentality emerged out of Foucault's interest in the range of forms, activities, institutions and various practices used in steering the conduct of people, both individuals and groups (Foucault 2007). The concept developed from a belief that the state and society were situated within a "general economy of power" (Jaeger 2010, 57) with a central power-knowledge relationship (Lemke 2007).

Foucault's discussion of governmentality reflected a significant conceptual shift from state theory and Marxist debates, and an extension to Foucault's own genealogy of the micro-physics power (Lemke 2007). For Foucault, Marxist debates and state theory were problematic, giving greater emphasis to state formation and the changing roles of statehood and statecraft as a result of capitalism (Jessop 2007). In his evolution toward governmentality, Foucault argued that capitalism had penetrated deeply into the social space by the use of various technologies of power (Foucault 2003).

The notion of power was central to Foucault's evolution of thought toward governmentality. Foucault rejected the way state theory represented power as sovereign authority, instead viewing power as a decentralised concept, existing within social relations and norms, and articulated within discourses and institutions and distinctive forms of knowledge. This form of power is conceived as being diffuse and omnipresent (Foucault 2007) and as both enabling and constraining (McHoul and Grace 1993). According to Foucault (2003), power exists everywhere and circulates through capillary networks. Furthermore, power is "productive of meanings, of interventions, of entities, of processes, of objects, of written traces and of lives" (Miller and Rose 2008, 9).

In moving away from power as a form of domination, Foucault (1982) explained the way power is exercised in the context of democratic freedom. He demonstrated this more creative and constitutive character of power as a "strategic

game” (Lemke 2002, 5) that soon became known as the “fourth face of power”⁶ (Digeser 1992, 97). In between power as a form of domination and power as a form of strategic game, there is a range of governmental technologies (tactics/instruments) aimed at structuring thought and action (Foucault 1988), as Foucault (1991a, 95) explains:

With government it is a question not of imposing law on men [*sic*], but of disposing things: that is to say, of employing tactics rather than laws, and even of using laws themselves as tactics—to arrange things in such a way that, through a certain number of means, such and such ends may be achieved.

Foucault therefore proposed the theory of governmentality over that of a general theory of the state, one that captured the historical constitution of different state forms and practices of government, otherwise known as arts of government, existing from classical Greece and Rome through to modern day neoliberalism (Korvela 2012). By introducing the “problematic of government” (Rose and Miller 1992, 174) as a new locus of attention, Foucault was interested in the way the modern state and the autonomous, free person were closely linked (Lemke 2002). Government took on a more encompassing meaning than its political conception seen today; conceptualised as “conduct of conduct” within daily practices, the management of the company, the government of oneself, of one’s family and also of the state (Lemke 2001, 2). This definition has since been expanded by one of the leading scholars of governmentality, Mitchell Dean, to include conduct in the sense of how we lead, direct and guide both ourselves and others (Dean 2010).

As Foucault’s lectures on governmentality evolved, they incorporated a broader reach and complexity to the notion of government and the process of governing (Jaeger 2010). For example, government was conceived as having “a tricky combination” (Lemke 2010, 34) of multiple causalities, webs of relations (Miller and Rose 2008) and a “coagulation of practices” (Valverde 2008, 15) that shape the way things happen, the process of governing, and the conduct of people

⁶ See the seminal works of Dahl (1957, 1961, 1967, 1968), Mills (1957), Bachrach and Baratz (1962) and Lukes (1974) for explanation of the earlier three faces of power.

and territories (Hannah 2000; McKee 2008; Miller and Rose 2008). Governmentality was more than networked governance however; there was an established link to the modes of thought or reasoning (*'mentalité'*) that make up the process and practices used in governing (*'gouverner'*) (Lemke 2002). Governmentality then would draw attention to efforts to create politically-desirable governable subjects, by using, for example, various tactics (not laws) that subtly guided individuals, groups and populations in accordance with governmental norms and objectives (Ettlinger 2011; Fimyar 2008). This is aligned with a hegemonic political rationality, as Miller and Rose (2008, 40) explain:

There [... is] a diversity of mechanisms, both direct and indirect, through which political authorities have sought to act upon entities and processes that make up a population in order to secure economic objectives, and the loose linkages between political ambitions, expert knowledge and the economic aspirations of individual firms.

Political rationalities reflect the “intellectual processing of reality”, supported by various technologies or instruments, such as agencies, procedures, institutions and statutes (Lemke 2001, 1). Critically, the way problems are defined and solutions are constructed, is therefore a reflection of the political rationalities that constitute them (Dean 2010). This means that while governable subjects are living beings capable of both thinking and acting in a field of choice and possibility, their capacities for thought and action, as well as the very notion of freedom itself, is structured by the prevailing modes of reasoning (political rationalities) that constitute governing (Dean 2010). Moreover, Rose and Miller (1992) and Miller and Rose (2008) note that at their core, rationalities reflect moral discourse and thus reflect the morality of government.

Governmentality also acknowledges that the art of government is a situated activity that is taking place within a discursive field (Dean 2010; Miller and Rose 2008) – that is, being mediated and continually constructed through particular discursive practices. Discourse is said to inextricably permeate all aspects of social life (Punch 2005), resembling a manifestation of diverse and hegemonic power relations and constructions of knowledge and ideology (Dean 2010; Fairclough 1989; Prince *et al.* 2006; Punch 2005). Consequently, discourse cannot be seen as

neutral, but must be viewed as having ideological effects through the way it positions people and represents the world (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). In this discursive field, technologies of political power are deemed rational; boundaries are set, concepts are outlined, objects and borders are defined, the plans to implement them are dreamed up, and justification and arguments are presented (Lemke 2001, Miller and Rose 1990). Cotoi (2011) suggests that debates about, for example, human ethics, notions of risk, ideas on human nature and corporate conduct – issues at the core of CSR – are shaped by the “productive dimension” (Lemke 2010, 33) of political power and its technologies (including statutes, institutional arrangements, policies, procedures, etc.).

Problematizations are a fundamental component of governmentality (Lippert 2004), bringing attention to questions that ask how (Dean 1999), for instance, CSR policy and practice are governed. Along with other aspects (i.e. discourse, techniques), problematizations are constitutive of distinctive forms of knowledge (system of beliefs) that resemble and act as political truths (Dean 2010; Digeser 1992; Rose 1999; Rose and Miller 1992; Miller and Rose 2008). Foucault was central in arguing the existence of a power–knowledge nexus, believing that they co-define each other. Knowledge can come from such disciplines as economics, politics, psychology, sociology and education, as well as philosophies, ideas and theories about governing, which are culturally and socially embedded (Dean 2010; Tikly 2003).

Knowledge may not only come from within the political apparatus, but from outside, in the form of private, commercial and social institutions whose roles may be juridical, communicative, ethical or otherwise (Finlayson 2011). Miller and Rose (2008) point to the existence of alliances, where professional actors may align themselves with political actors and draw attention to specific problems using, for example, a vocabulary of management, accounting, medicine or social science as a basis for their justifications. In this way, powerful individuals emerge, by claiming the power of truth and arguing what should and ought to occur. The way we think about governing may come from professionals, but as Johnston and Shearing (2003) illustrated, non-professionals and local lay knowledge may also be important in shaping particular notions of governing. These regimes of truth have governed the

formation of discursive and social practices and are embedded within a field of power relations (Foucault 2000); the result being a three-fold concept of power, truth and the self (Dean 1994). By joining knowledge and practices of government, regimes of practices are created that reflect the day-to-day operations of an organisation (Dean 2010; Painter 2005).

By applying a governmentality approach to CSR, it is suggested that CSR governance can no longer be viewed as being either natural or coherent (Johnston and Shearing 2003). Rather, CSR should be conceived as being shaped via power configurations, technological inventions and political rationalities (Cotoi 2011).

3.3.3 Analytics of Governmentality

The *analytics of governmentality* represents a style of analysis that aims to deconstruct contemporary governance; one that differs radically from the governance approach through its attention to discourses and practices of knowledge and power (Rose 1999). In other words, governmentality analysis aims to capture the complexity of modern governing by going beyond state policies and legislation (Ilcan and Phillips 2006), to consider the system of governing and structural features that define relations and practices between the state, industry and civil society (Bevir 2011). Therefore, the analytics of governmentality encompasses a form of critique, one that problematises the system of governing by identifying the political rationalities that underpin the system (Dean 2010). By viewing government as a constellation of various forces, the analytics of governmentality works to unravel the linkages between power, truth and self. In this way, attention is drawn to the ‘how’ aspects of governing social order, including representations of relations, knowledge and expertise. This results in a critique of governing and its implications on different levels – the individual, family and private firm (Lemke 2010).

To begin a governmentality analysis of CSR, this research is guided by critical questions about the way CSR conduct is directed, how it is governed, and what political truths constitute CSR. For example, a broad approach needs to be taken in the analysis, one in which the role and coordination of departments or ministerial portfolios, for example, are situated amongst a complex set of practices embedded within a matrix of political technologies (Dean 2010). The analytics

process is not interested in practices of government simply for understanding governance as programs that can be mapped, measured and tested against some form of empirical reality, but may be used for uncovering rationalities that reflect organised ways of doing things, and are connected to material practices and social actions (Foucault 1991a, 1991b; Gordon 1991, Dean 2010). As Foucault (1991b, 79) explains:

Practices don't exist without a certain regime of rationality... If I have studied 'practices', ... it was in order to study [the] interplay between a 'code' which rules ways of doing things . . . and a production of true discourses which serve to found, justify and provide reasons and principles for these ways of doing things.

Therefore, research interest is directed toward identifying the different styles of thought that underpin the socio-political sphere: how they were formed, the logic that underpins them and the practices they constitute (Rose *et al.* 2006). This also involves an analysis of the institutions, procedures, strategies, projects, calculations and tactics that operate within the state (Jessop 2007; Ilcan and Phillips 2006). In this way, scholars become attentive to the manner individuals and populations are governed in particular settings, and especially the way specific actions and behaviours are facilitated and encouraged (Prince *et al.* 2006), relative to these particular rationalities (Ettlinger 2011).

Studies in governmentality seek the various ways in which regimes of political truths are embedded within various spheres of reality (i.e. social, political, and cultural) (Dean 2010; Fimyar 2008). Attention is therefore directed at particular "stratums of acting and knowing" (Rose 1999, 9) that serve as rationales for the aims of government (political rationalities) (Huxley 2006). Studies in governmentality search for "accidents, contingencies, overlapping discourses, threads of power and, importantly, conditions of possibility for the production of commonsense, taken-for-granted truths" (Ailwood 2004, 21). Additionally, research is directed to the ways truths are spoken, the persons who are authorised to speak those truths, and how they are brought into being for the purposes of aligning economic, social and personal conduct with socio-political objectives (Miller and Rose 2008; Rose 1999). For

example, Rutherford (2007, 295) highlights this in the context of nature as a discursive field being conceived, acted upon and managed:

The ways in which the environment is constructed is in crisis, how knowledge about it is formed, and who then is authorised to save it become important for understanding the ways the truth about the environment is made and how that truth is governed.

For an analysis of government, two main approaches can be identified within the literature. The first approach, taken by Dean (2010), suggests the need to focus on four key elements for an analysis of governmentality: 1) *forms of visibility* (picturing and constituting objects); 2) *techne of government* (the means, mechanism, tactics, and technologies through which authority is constituted and rule accomplished); 3) *episteme of government* (the forms of thought, knowledge, expertise, calculation that are employed in governing and how form is given to what is governable), and 4) *forms of identification* (the forming of subjects, selves, agents, actors – the ‘governable subjects’). For the second approach, Rose and Miller (1992) suggest the problematic of government may be analysed in context with *political rationalities* (any moral justifications for particular ways of exercising power, identification of boundaries of politics and the proper distribution of tasks) and *governmental technologies* (the complex matrix of programmes, calculations, techniques, apparatus, documents and procedures which signify governmental ambition and political programs). It is through technologies of government that authorities seek to guide the conduct, thoughts, behaviours, aspirations of individuals and populations toward desirable objectives (Miller and Rose 1990).

As appealing as this theoretical and analytical framework may be, it has its limitations. Theoretically, an inherent weakness in the governmentality thesis is its over-deterministic nature and its failure to accommodate agency (McKee 2009). Governmentality is also criticised for its limited focus on empirical reality, the way thought is reduced to practice, inadequate recognition of the politics of resistance, an ambiguous analytical point of view, and an excessive focus on political programs (McKee 2009, Mitchell 2006, Kessel and Kutscher 2008). However, Foucault had never intended to propose a ‘grand’ theory that could provide an explanation of a

social totality, rather, a framework that brings attention to taken-for-granted aspects (Huxley 2008).

Governmentality can be analysed at the level of truths, rationalities and aims of government, as well as in terms of the empirical context – the success, failures, and sites of resistance to these (Huxley 2008). However, the literature contains a predominant focus on the discursive character of programs and policy, creating a ‘top heavy’ – as opposed to ‘bottom-up’ – imbalance (Kessel and Kutscher 2008; Mitchell 2006; Weidner 2009). According to McKee (2009), this focus fails to attend to the social relations and context in which political programs and policies are embedded, as policy documents can only be fully understood within the practical contexts where they are produced and have a real impact. Therefore, the dominant perspective at the level of political programs fails to capture subjects and spaces at the micro level (Larner 2000).

Analytical extensions to the field of governmentality involve accounting for the networks and other sites of governance from below, which manifest on the ground, using a range of tools (cognitive, persuasive, coercive, and others) (Stenson 2005, Lea and Stenson 2007; Stenson 2008a, 2008b). Government from below (O’Malley 1996; Lea and Stenson 2007) or the bottom-up realm (Mitchell 2006) collectively entails a focus on subjectivity formation, the implications of, and responses to, new technologies and rationalities and the resulting impacts – evasions, processes of exclusion and domination and motivations for individual behaviour (Mitchell 2006).

The lack of attention given to the bottom-up realm has resulted in a poor understanding of political actors involved in political processes (Kerr 1999), of the grass roots/non-elite politics (O’Malley 1996) and forms of resistance (Hanson 2009). While there are many studies that do explore subjectivity formation via an examination of discourse that promotes neoliberal subjectivity (responsibility, flexibility and rational calculation), they tend to ignore how these discourses operate and what impact they have (Weidner 2009). For McCarthy and Prudham (2004), the governmentality perspective has failed to value the interwoven nature between neoliberalism, environmental change and politics based on class-based coalitions,

interest-based politics and scale-specific ecological issues. According to McKee (2009), there is a dearth of attention paid toward social difference (race, class and gender); making the assumption that power falls equally over all of the population. This then suggests the need to account for the winners and losers of different projects and their ensuing social and ecological effects (McCarthy and Prudham 2004). Thus, “by ignoring the messiness of *realpolitik*, this top-down discursive approach neglects that subjection is neither a smooth nor a complete project; rather one inherently characterised by conflict, contestation and instability” (McKee 2008, 474).

As Fairbanks (2008) and Larner (2008) argue, there is a need to further explore the contestation existing within the field of governmentality. Alternative models can be identified in the literature. For example, Stenson’s broader realist governmentality (2005, 2008a, 2008b) provides a perspective that moves beyond the discursive context to consider its material practices, desired behaviours, local actions and initiatives being actualised on the ground. Kessel and Kutscher (2008, n.p.) have also suggested the need for a “realist” interpretation, in which the level of the everyday life is incorporated, thereby understanding the process whereby social practices are interrelated and interwoven within political rationalities. From this perspective, the analytical terrain of governmentality does not lose its original thesis, but extends from political programs to social contexts in which political programs are created and consumed.

3.3.4 Arts of Government: An Overview

Foucault developed the notion of governmentality out of his interest in the political transformations and new forms of reasoning that emerged in Western European States in the 18th century (Dean 2010; Foucault 1991a; Tikly 2003; Peters 2009). He originally termed this modern governmentality in relation to the transformation of the state, locating its meaning and power under *classical liberalism* (Dean 2010; Fimyar 2008; Tikly 2003). Liberalism emerged as a distinctive political rationality (Peters 2007), where the government of the state became autonomous and distinctive in structure from previous sovereign rules, including the divine right theories of rule (Dean 2010; Joyce 2003). Liberalism

governed through the idea of free conduct, self-awareness and self-limitation, thereby distinguishing it from other types of power and modes of reasoning (Joseph 2010).

If liberal forms of governing had the principle “rule of freedom” (Joyce 2003, 44), non-liberal governmentalities did not. Dean (2010) introduced various non-uniform collections of governmentality to include *non-liberal governmentalities*, often demonstrated within colonial governments, *illiberal governmentalities*, such as those that are liberal but demonstrate uncharacteristic elements, and those that subscribe to *authoritarian regimes of governmentality*, that is, active involvement in citizens’ lives. With increased economic globalisation and individualism emerging during the 19th and 20th centuries, the concept of *governing from the social* also emerged. This was constructed around the belief that government had an essential social mandate, which meant that the state was seen to be central to the security of the population (Miller and Rose 2008).

During the early 20th century, a new mode of government of the economic, the social and the personal lives of citizens emerged (Miller and Rose 2008). By the end of the 20th century, albeit demonstrated earlier by liberal thinkers during the post-war period, *neoliberal governmentality* emerged (Miller and Rose 2008). This governmentality differed from any other form with respect to its conceptions of morality, explanations and vocabularies (Miller and Rose 2008). Its language is constructed around the more enterprising, active and responsible citizen, with the market as the foundation for the “truth and power of society” (Gane 2008, 358; Joseph 2010). Both Miller and Rose (2008) and Dean (2010) have used the broader configuration of *advanced Liberal governmentality* as a collective term for *neoliberal governmentality* and its variants. In its entirety, *advanced liberal governmentality* emerged with a very distinct form of reasoning – a new regime of truth and application of power, creating different consequences for the conduct of the individual (Gane 2008).

This *neoliberal governmentality* under the advanced liberal regime has generated considerable research interest (Dean 2010). While Foucault’s notion of governmentality provides one avenue to explore the complex transformations of

neoliberalism, Larner (2000) has also illustrated two alternative analytical perspectives. The first and most prominent perspective is that of “neoliberalism as a policy framework”, understood as a theoretical and ideological framework about the individual, freedom of choice, laissez-faire and minimal government (Larner 2000, 7). From the second perspective, scholars have sought to understand how and in what way neoliberalism is a part of the development of political and social formation. By this approach, they tend to see “neoliberalism as an ideology” that attempts to justify the restructuring relationship between Nation States and other political institutions (such as trans-national agencies) (Weidner 2009).

These alternative perspectives can be distinguished from *neoliberal governmentality* as a system of meaning comprising institutions, practices and identities that are brought to restructure individual capacity in alignment with the market and States (Larner 2000). Thus, those who approach neoliberalism from the perspectives of governmentality take the view that a heterogeneous set of governmental practices and institutions (technologies of governance) exist, arranged by “who can govern; who is to be governed; what is to be governed, and how?” (Walters and Haahr 2005, 290), thereby facilitating conformity to the market mantra (Weidner 2009).

Other critical differences between governmentality and other studies investigating neoliberalism are revealed by the way neoliberalism is investigated. For example, these other studies tend to explore neoliberalism without treating the following dualisms as connected: knowledge-power, state-economy and subject-repression (Lemke 2002). Alternatively, governmentality captures the multiple forms of knowledge, power and technologies of self, creating a more in-depth analysis (Lemke 2002). Furthermore, government may be conceived as a continuum spanning from political government to forms of self-regulation, thereby providing a more complex analysis – not only of direct intervention by state – but also of the more subtle and indirect techniques for shaping behaviour (Lemke 2010). In this way, governmentality studies are useful for illuminating the ‘soft’ mechanisms of power used to govern individual populations, under the existence of freedom and choice (Lemke 2010). The various governmentalities are elaborated in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Overview of governmentalities

	Key Quote(s)	Key Principles	Key Works
Classical Liberal Governmentality	<p>“Objective of a liberal art of government becomes that of securing the conditions for the optimal and, as far as possible, autonomous functioning of economic processes within society or, as Foucault puts it, of enframing natural processes in mechanisms of security” (Burchell 1991, 139).</p> <p>“An essential and original feature of liberalism as a principle of governmental reason is that it pegs the rationality of government, of the exercise of political power, to the freedom and interested rationality of the governed themselves” (Burchell 1991, 139).</p> <p>“The formula of liberalism is not ‘be free.’ Liberalism formulates simply the following: I am going to produce what you need to be free. I am going to see to it that you are free to be free. And so, if this liberalism is not so much the imperative of freedom as the management and organization of the conditions in which one can be free, it is clear that at the heart of this liberal practice is an always different and mobile problematic relationship between the production of freedom and that which in the production of freedom risks limiting and destroying it. Liberalism as I understand it [...] entails at its heart a productive/ destructive relationship with freedom [...]”. (Foucault 2008, 63).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Represents a specific mode of governing, not only an ideology or philosophy. • Laissez-faire governance – based on the limits of power by political authorities to govern ‘action at a distance’. • This form of reasoning was derived from a new truth regime: the liberal principles of political economy. • Birth of ‘civil society’ as an organic living entity made up of individuals, not objects that were free agents, capable of being autonomous and rational decision makers. Produced a socially constructed notion of freedom and liberty, where events, discourses, decisions and actions were modulated in the economy, the company, the family and the individual person. Led to the creation of the ‘economy’ as an important and identifiable space and distinct sphere, governed by laws, logic and a proper rationality. Economic management became a distinctive activity of government practice. The state’s populations were considered resources to be used, facilitated and optimised • Aim is to create a form of social citizenry that is compatible with the industrial economy. 	<p>Miller and Rose (2008) Foucault (2008) Dean (2010) Burchell <i>et al.</i> (1991)</p>

	Key Quote(s)	Key Principles	Key Works
Authoritarian, non-liberal and Illiberality Governmentalities	<p>Illiberality governmentalities ... “While the bio-political imperative does not account for all that bedevils liberal-democratic states, it is remarkable how much of what is done of an illiberal character is done with the best of bio-political intentions” (Dean 2010, 156)</p> <p>Non-Liberal governmentalities ... “do not accept a conception of limited government characterised by the rule of law that would secure the rights of individual citizens” (Dean 2010, 156)</p> <p>Authoritarian governmentalities ... “is one of the two great strategies for the control of the risk manifest in population of industrial societies characteristic of last century. It is the transformation of the government of risk that indicates a new trajectory on which governmentalities of the state meets governmentalisation of mechanisms of government themselves” (Dean 2010, 173)</p> <p>“It refers to the non-liberal and explicitly authoritarian types of rules that seek to operate through obedient rather than free subjects, or at a minimum, endeavour to neutralize any opposition to authority” (Dean 2010, 154)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The illiberality of the free subject can be demonstrated in two main ways: The way in which practices and rationalities intentionally divide the populace and by doing so, exclude certain categories of persons from being categorised as the autonomous and rational. Liberal free subjects are also divided against him or herself – known as dividing practices – such as the sick and the healthy; the good and the bad. There is an ethical and moral ‘despotism’ in illiberal governmentality, particularly when interventionist practices are implemented around those that are seen to be in need of social improvement. • This division between the responsible and autonomous citizen and the ones not deemed capable have led to a long history of employing a range of techniques – interventions, and types of power, such as disciplinary measures. 	Dean (2010)

Key Quote(s)	Key Principles	Key Works
<p>Advanced Liberal Governmentality</p>	<p>“Economic entrepreneurship is to replace regulation, as active agents seeking to maximise their own advantage are both the legitimate locus of decision about their own affairs and the most effective in calculating actions and outcomes” (Miller and Rose 2008, 79).</p> <p>“A sphere of freedom is to be (re-) established, where autonomous agents make their decisions, pursue their preferences and seek to maximise their own quality of life” (Miller and Rose 2008, 82).</p> <p>“The language of the entrepreneurial individual, endowed with freedom and autonomy, has come to predominate over almost any other in evaluations of the ethical claims of political power and programmes” (Miller and Rose 2008, 83).</p> <p>“The society regulated by reference to the market that the neoliberals are thinking about is... a society subject to the dynamic of competition... an enterprise society” (Foucault 2008, 147)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reactivates the liberal principles, but not laissez-faire liberalism • The state has two new functions: 1) Defend the competitive interests of the nation in the international sphere, and, 2) Ensure order by providing a legal framework for social and economic life in which autonomous actors/institutions control their own paths. • Primary principle is the introduction of a broad range of strategies to create and sustain the market reshaping economic exchanges to contractual ones. • Significance placed on the strength of the market as regulators of economic activity and picking winners through the promotion of competition, initiative and risk-taking. • The private enterprise operated within an action-at-a-distance arena with managers taking new levels of responsibility, and entwined with expert knowledge, economic policy and business decisions. Managers, rather than consultants as expertise became central players within networks of power. • New notions of security evolve: healthcare provided by individuals, housing through the private sector. • Redeploy the ‘free subject’ as a technical instrument <p>Miller and Rose (2008) Foucault (2008) Dean (2007; 2010) Burchell <i>et al.</i> (1991)</p>

3.3.5 Governmentality and CSR

Governmentality is said to structure the field of possible action (Miller and Rose 2008), and for this reason, this thesis is not first in “providing a critical understanding of how CSR works and what it does” (Vallentin and Murillo, 2009, 10; see also Banerjee 2007, 2008; Blowfield and Dolan 2008; Vallentin and Murillo 2012; Vallentin 2012). Various specific approaches to governmentality, and to Foucault’s other key ideas about power, biopower/biopolitics and discourse, have been discussed and/or applied to the field of CSR (see, for example, Banerjee 2007; Blowfield and Dolan 2008; Charkiewicz 2005; Shamir 2008; Vallentin 2012; Vallentin and Murillo 2008, 2009, 2012). These approaches stem from an increased understanding that individual and corporate conduct is embedded within a more complex interpretational system that shapes how CSR is constructed and enacted.

While the governmentality perspective for CSR is not well chartered terrain, it has proven revealing in understanding the workings of CSR. In particular, recent studies have pointed to a problematic aspect of the structure and function of contemporary CSR. For example, Charkiewicz (2005) applied Foucault’s concepts of biopolitics and the politics of resistance to identify the values and assumptions governing CSR and the origins of these discourses. She identified a two-faced game; the very existence of CSR discourse allowing for a “caring face of global governance” to be performed to carefully scripted rules and norms (Charkiewicz 2005, 81). Consequently, she suggested that CSR resolves problems symbolically, but not practically. Similarly, Shamir (2008, 4) suggested that CSR constitutes a set of practices to “ground and reframe socio-moral concerns from within the instrumental rationality of capitalist markets”. He identified neoliberal tendencies in government approaches to CSR. These neoliberal expressions of CSR were also reflected in the critique by Vallentin and Murillo (2008, 2009), whose conclusions suggested that some European governments advocate for CSR by promoting an agenda of profit motive and competitiveness. These arguments were developed and elaborated by Vallentin and Murillo (2012), who further showed how governmentality is effective in problematising neoliberal modes of CSR governance. Similarly, Vallentin (2012) explored neoliberalism and CSR further, noting the way

CSR is captured by neoliberalism generally and governmental approaches more specifically, and suggesting that both demand greater awareness in CSR research.

Similarly, in their analysis of ethical trade in Africa, Blowfield and Dolan (2008, 3) argued that CSR is embedded within “a form of governmentality that advances the global project of neoliberalism”, thereby “perpetuating the interests of economic globalisation”. In Altman and Martin’s (2009) assessment of the relations between Aboriginal Australians and mining companies in northern Australia, the authors highlighted the way modern political power ‘plays out’ in contemporary settings. This is as much a consequence of the state’s dominant influence as it is the network of actors, organisations and enterprises that seek to guide behaviours and decision-making.

While these studies have made important contributions to the field of CSR, it is suggested in the following section that the contribution of governmentality to the field of CSR can be further strengthened by way of placing it in context with the theory of spatiality.

3.4 The Theory of Spatiality

Analytically, the governmentality perspective connects well with relational thinking in geography, in the way it acknowledges the existence of networked governance, as well as the relations between abstractions and empirics (Ettlinger 2011). Indeed, even Foucault (1980, 77) once said that “geography must indeed lie at the heart of my concerns”. While Foucault suggested geography was central to his ideas, space and the theory of spatiality rarely played a primary role within the works of sociological and political governmentality theorists (Elden 2007a, 2007b; Elden and Crampton 2007). While Foucault’s dominant thesis of sovereignty, discipline and government placed individuals, populations, the national economy and enterprises as the objects of government, he did provide insight into space and spatiality in the constitution of social relations and practices (Elden 2007b, Elden and Crampton 2007). Various, Foucault’s writings present a series of geographical and spatial metaphors within his key works, which point to a system of relations and fields of connectivity (Murdoch 2005). For example, Foucault (2000, 201-02)

pointed to the existence of complex interactions and multiple variables in relation to territory:

You will notice that that the definition of government in no way refers to territory: one governs things. But what does this mean? I think this is not a matter of opposing things to men but rather of showing that what government has to do with is not territory but, rather a sort of complex composed on men and things. The things, in this sense, with which government is to be concerned are in fact men, but men in their relations, their links, their imbrication with those things that are wealth, resources, means of subsistence, the territory with its specific qualities, climate, irrigation, fertility, and so on ... what counts is essentially this complex of men and things; property and territory are merely one of its variables.

Elden (2001), Murdoch (2005), Johnston (2006) and Elden and Crampton (2007) provided useful overviews of how the concepts of space and spatiality have featured in Foucault's work. However, there exist very few direct references to space, even though the ideas surrounding heterotopias in Foucault's *Of Other Spaces* would be an exception (Elden 2001). For Elden (2001), Foucault's approach to space was not merely a phenomenon to be analysed, but an implicit aspect of his work. Foucault's analysis of micro-spaces (the asylum and the prison) showed how these were constituted in their particular arrangement of discursive and material conditions, resulting from a corresponding set of power relations (Murdoch 2005). Saldanha (2008) also suggested that Foucault's spatial understandings allowed him to better conceptualise the connections between power, knowledge and self.

Increasingly, as Foucault's ideas about governing evolved, his concepts of knowledge, discourse, power and space were shown to be necessarily related constructs (Elden 2001), interwoven and not clearly distinguishable (Murdoch 2005). For example, Foucault (1984, 246) indicated that "it is somewhat arbitrary to try to dissociate the effective practice of freedom by people, the practice of social relations, and the spatial distributions in which they find themselves. If they are separated, they become impossible to understand". In emphasising the relational character of power relationships (Foucault 2007), the relational nature of space was also implied (Murdoch 2005). Increasingly, space was seen to be "inextricably linked to power: it limits and enables, it creates and hinders through precise spatial arrangements" (Kornberger and Clegg 2003, 78)

However, Foucault's view on spatiality was an unfinished project and often inconsistent and incoherent (Elden 2007b; Soja 1996). As soon as Foucault was seen to shift his focus from enclosed micro spaces (the prison) to macro spaces (the population), the spatial dimensions of his work became less apparent (Allen 2003; Murdoch 2005). Therefore, Foucault was able to articulate a theory for "spaces of domination" but not for "spaces of production" (Murdoch 2005, 46), as Allen (2003, 90) explains:

Once outside the walls of the institution, so to speak, it was as if a concern for the detailed spacing and timing of activities, and how they induced and channelled particular patterns of behaviour, no longer had any real purchase on the more expansive matters at hand.

However, with an increased emphasis placed on the 'spatial turn' in the social sciences, the mid-1990s saw studies in governmentality become more attentive to the process of spatialisation, that is, the territorialisation of government thought and practice in the spaces of governing (Bunnell and Coe 2005; Rose 1999). Rose (1999) subsequently developed the notion of "governable spaces" to reflect these various spatial zones over which governing takes place: populations, nations, societies, economies, classes, families, schools, factories, individuals (Rose 1999, 34). Rose (1999, 32-35) describes the spatiality of projects as:

Governmental thought territorializes itself in different ways ... It is a matter of marking out a territory in thought and inscribing it in the real, topographising it, investing it with powers, bounding it by exclusions, defining who or what can rightfully enter ... And one can also think in these terms about the spaces of enclosure that governmental thought has imagined and penetrated ... So, along this dimension of territorialisation, we are concerned not merely with describing these various topoi and their delimitation and succession, but also with trying to identify the problematisations within which these particular topoi have emerged.

Rose (1996, 1999) and Miller and Rose (2008) have been particularly important in discussing these alternative spatial imaginations in an era of globalisation and trans-nationalisation of economic relations. Reflecting the spatial emphasis of projects of government, Rose (1999, 144) witnessed a "re-territorialisation of the social", in which government of the social has been replaced by the government of particular spatial zones – regions, towns, sectors and

communities. For the purpose of economic flows moving between regions and across national boundaries (Rose 1999, 144), re-territorialisation and de-territorialisation (Rose and Miller 1992) are shown to bring about new spatial realities and complexities.

Consequently, governmental thought has become critical in the constitution of spaces and places, in which the political, its processes and transformations (intended and unintended) materialise ‘somewhere’ and ‘somehow’ (Elden 2007b; Elden 2010; Hannah 2000; Legg 2005; Murdoch and Ward 1997; Philo 1992; Rose-Redwood 2006; Swyngedouw 1997). Spaces and places, like subjects, are therefore being shaped and formed by the intersection of power, knowledge, imaginaries and practices, thereby reflecting the spatial constitution of governmentality (Huxley 2008).

Space is inseparable from projects of government; “space enters a field of governmental practices – ways of thinking, constructing and acting in relation to spaces and environments in the assemblage of specific *dispositifs*” (Huxley 2008, 1654).⁷ Spatial sensibilities can be identified within the plans and programs of government, and also within the governmental aspirations to produce spatially specific conduct (Huxley 2008). Moreover, the aims and rationalities of government can also be expressed within the spatial disposition of particular sites and, the management of populations, the reasons that underpin government spatial distributions and also the qualities of environments. For example, Huxley (2006, 774) shows how a “dispositional spatial rationality” is one example of how governments can manipulate environments, suggesting this spatial rationality involves:

Drawing boundaries and producing order ... to bring arrangement and visibility to bear on individuals and populations problematised as chaotic and uncontrolled. The ‘dispositional problem’ of space and environment is the threat of chaos, disorder and ‘the world turned upside down’:

⁷ Foucault coined the term ‘dispositif’ to capture the vast array of governmental technologies including discourses, institutions, governmental bodies, regulatory frameworks and knowledge statements (e.g. philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions) (Foucault 1980).

spaces of debauchery, drunkenness, idleness that produce poverty, disease and death.

As a result, the imagining and positioning of space(s) is essential in understanding the practices of the state (Legg 2005), the techniques of governing (Huxley 2008), relations of power (Legg 2005) and methods by which problems are defined and solutions formed according to precise spatial frames (Dikec 2007). Therefore, spaces are the function of multiple, swirling forces, be they political, institutional, economic, ideational, individual or collective. These forces are also shown to move at different rates and interfere with other forces, creating unique spatial imaginaries involving a variety of actors (Finlayson 2011). These spaces are also influenced by geographical scales, where for example, local social-spatial relations are increasingly interconnected with the global scale (Brenner 1999a). This research, therefore, does not fall into the “territorial trap” (Agnew 1994, 53), in which geographical areas are viewed as “self-enclosed geographical containers of socio-economic and politico-cultural relations” (Brenner 1999a, 40).

Since the 1990s, scale has been shown to be socially constructed, and to be just as significant as space in the constitution of politico-economic processes (Howitt 2000). Since traditional Euclidian and Cartesian philosophies have defined space as fixed, bounded, and pre-given; similar notions of scale have been replaced by a view of scale as a structural component of socio-spatial relations and processes (Brenner 2001). As a result, there is increased awareness of the politics of scale, revealing the taken-for-granted nature of its political framing (Delaney and Leitner 1997). Lebel *et al.* (2005) suggest attention should be given to the way political decisions about scale are made, as they may be shaped and defined by governmental technologies. For example, governing bodies can be established to target particular scales and resources (Lebel *et al.* 2005) as a way to serve special interests and objectives (Swyngedouw 1997). Therefore, scale is also socially constructed and constantly evolving, is closely related to the concept of space and power, and to the ideologies that constitute them all (Delaney and Leitner 1997).

Given this outcome, any event or thing at a particular point in space should not be conceptualised without an understanding of the forces and influences –

including that of scale decisions – that ‘swirl’ over space, from the past, present and future (Harvey 2004). It is these forces and influences that define and construct the nature of that particular point. For this reason, the relational view of space – understood as unfolding and dynamic, and constituted by actors and forces – is integral to governmentality (Ettlinger 2011).

3.5 Applying Spatiality to CSR

The above discussion showed how spatiality is an important instrument for critical analysis of the political terrain. Applying spatiality to CSR suggests that the territories for which CSR policy and practice are designed and implemented must be considered “more than merely land, but a rendering of the emergent concept of ‘space’ as a political category: owned, distributed, mapped, calculated, bordered, controlled” (Elden 2007b, 578). Methodologically, applying the theory of spatiality involves acknowledging the need to connect with ‘on the ground’, thereby accounting for the unevenness and spatial variation in CSR governance. This occurs in several local, political-economic and social contexts (Stenson and Watts 1999). By applying the theory, the present research moves into the local empirical context.

The literature shows how the application of spatiality varies considerably across disciplines. Earlier in this chapter, a tripartite division of space – absolute, relative and relational – was examined. Harvey (2004) suggested that these concepts be used as an analytical model in order to understand events, and to formulate ways of thinking from a geographical perspective. However, Harvey (1973) considered space to be neither absolute, relative, nor relational in itself but rather to operate as one or all, depending on the events and circumstances that define that space. Therefore, defining the nature of the CSR space as absolute, relative or relational goes only so far; it is necessary to place the analysis in context with human social practices. Following Harvey (1973), it is important to understand how CSR actors and governmental practices create and make use of different conceptualisations of space. For example, property rights can create absolute spaces within which power can flourish and monopolies may operate (Harvey 1973).

In more recent advances, Harvey (2006) extended this three-part conceptualisation of space (absolute, relative and relational) with Lefebvre's tripartite division of 1) material space (the space of experience and of perception open to physical touch and sensation) 2) the representation of space (space as conceived and represented) and 3) spaces of representation (the lived space of sensations, the imagination, emotions, and meanings incorporated into our everyday lives and practices). This created a "matrix of spatialities" composed of nine different conceptualisations of space contained within a three-by-three matrix (Pick *et al.* 2010, 516). From this perspective, a dominant neoliberal governmentality, for example, gives rise to certain constructions of space in material, conceptual and lived, as well as absolute, relative and relational terms. In this way, Harvey (2006) draws attention to all intersections of the matrix and investigates the tensions that exist between them.

Such a framework may be useful in guiding an analysis of CSR to indicate various complexities and tensions. Pick *et al.* (2010) demonstrated its application in the context of regional development within WA's Pilbara region; insight that showed how the Pilbara is subjected to a variety of influences, contradictions and pressures. These authors showed how it was possible to refer to one intersection of Harvey's matrix and draw insightful conclusions. In this thesis, it is suggested that the intersection between relational space – the space of multiple forces, relations and flows (i.e. governmentality), and the space of representation – regions as lived places of vision, emotion, desires and frustration – constitutes the broad research aims and objectives of this research.

CSR scholars such as Shamir (2008), Blowfield and Dolan (2008) as well as Vallentin and Murillo (2008, 2009, 2012) have demonstrated that CSR is neither natural nor coherent, but shaped and formed by mechanisms of human intervention at various stages and places, yet is underpinned by a prevailing political rationality (Johnston and Shearing 2003; Miller and Rose 2008). However, by utilising the theory of spatiality in conjunction with governmentality, further insight may be gained as to how CSR is being imagined and assembled by way of spatialised forms and arrangements (Clarke 2008).

The ‘spaces of CSR’ framework brings together the concepts of governmentality and spatiality. Rose and Miller (1992) write that *political rationalities* and *technologies* constitute important analytical categories. They further suggest that these aspects are situated within the nexus of *power and knowledge* (Miller and Rose 2008; Rose and Miller 2010; Dean 2010). These analytical perspectives are considered important, in that social phenomena – in this case, CSR policy and practice – are made knowable and have their boundaries defined. In addition to these elements, and where the main contribution of this thesis lies, is the inclusion of *spatial imaginaries*, which reflect the “spatial anchoring” (Bauriedl 2007, 1) of CSR policy and practice. Although there is a lack of attention directed toward the lived experience in both CSR theory and governmentality studies, the *lived CSR experience* is an important analytical category. These analytical categories reflect the conceptual schema for this research.

3.6 Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, the ‘spaces of CSR’ framework emerged from a critical research strand of CSR (e.g. Banerjee 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010; Blowfield and Frynas 2005; Vallentin and Murello 2008, 2009, 2012; Vallentin 2012). This critical perspective suggests that CSR is not only shaped at the discretion of managers, it is also embedded in social and political contexts which shapes the practice and policy of CSR (Amaeshi and Amoe 2009; Ungericht and Weiskopf 2007). This perspective shifts CSR from a simple business phenomenon to one situated within an entanglement of forces, subject to power relations and political processes.

By situating both the policy and practice of CSR within a relational space, the strategic, spatial, political and ideological character of CSR is acknowledged. These characteristics have provided the foundations for a critical analysis. This chapter demonstrated how the governmentality perspective can be a powerful instrument for deconstructing CSR, and observing how sociological theories of governance are inadequate for capturing the complexity of, and inherent contradictions of, CSR governance. These may be revealed through the application of governmentality to the field of CSR (Vallentin and Murillo 2009). In particular,

this application could be effective in drawing attention to the taken-for-granted aspects of CSR governance.

At the same time, it was also noted that governmentality gives way to governable space; spatiality then must be conceived alongside governmentality, for a more complete analysis of the way CSR is actualised on the ground. Spaces will always emerge in different ways and in different places (Arias 2010), suggesting the need to be attentive to the construction and experience of CSR in individual case examples. This extends from the belief that there are also issues, patterns and contradictions created in response to dominant governmental rationalities, made visible in 'spaces' and distinctive 'places' (Stenson 2005, 2008a, 2008b; Stenson and Watts 1999). This chapter completes the development of the 'spaces of CSR' framework. In the following chapter, the research methods and approach will be discussed.

CHAPTER 4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY, DESIGN AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The current state of CSR theory points toward the need to deconstruct CSR and attend to the values, ideologies and power asymmetries that define its construction and integrity. Consequently, the design of this research has been informed by the frameworks of governmentality and spatiality. In the previous chapter, the power of these frameworks for sense-making was demonstrated in an examination of structural mechanisms and technologies of power, represented and actualised within a ‘CSR space’. It is the purpose of this chapter to build upon these frameworks by outlining the means of interrogation.

This chapter is divided into five main sections. Part one explores the *philosophical foundations* and details the rationale and justification for the critical realist paradigm. Part two details the *research design* including the application of a detailed qualitative case study. Part three explores the research process, specifically the research methods used: semi-structured, in-depth interviews, document analysis and observational evidence. Part four describes and explains the *analytical framework* guiding this research. The remaining part explores the *research quality*, and details the strategies used to ensure the trustworthiness and methodological rigour of this research.

4.2 Philosophical Foundations

4.2.1 A Question of Paradigm

The dominant debates about qualitative and quantitative research approaches are inherently questions of the paradigm revealing the researcher’s views of how knowledge exists (Punch 2005). The idea of paradigms originated from Kuhn’s (1962) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* and can be defined as “a loose collection of logically held together assumptions, concepts, and propositions that

orientate thinking and research” (Bogdan and Biklan 1982, 30). These “intellectual cultures” (Oakley 1999, 155) are framed by certain assumptions about the theory of science and society (Ardalan 2009) and reflect the researcher’s epistemological, ontological and methodological foundations (Guba 1990).

The positivist paradigm has so far provided the dominant framework for mainstream management and organisational studies literature (Coghlan and Bannick 2010). Similarly, empirical studies into CSR are “overwhelmingly of a quantitative nature” (Lockett *et al.* 2006, 132). The belief that positivism is the appropriate lens to investigate social science phenomena (Fleetwood 2004; Sobh and Perry 2006) has, in the CSR context, resulted in a limited contemporary understanding of the layers and complexity of CSR (Banerjee 2007). This understanding stems from the limited scope of positivism: especially, as Easton (2010, 118) suggests, that it is “simply an atheoretical statement about the world. It doesn't answer the question why?” Similarly, yet closely related, is the question of positivism failing to understand the how and why of ‘CSR space’ operation. As a consequence, structural barriers, power variances and ideologies are lost in assumptions taken for granted.

Much of the literature on governmentality, and Foucault’s work more generally, has been concerned with the way problems are ‘socially constructed’. Therefore, the majority of governmentality studies are grounded within a social constructionist view of the world and are concerned with questions of epistemology (Elder-Vass 2010; Parr 2009). Using the application of Foucauldian discourse analysis in an organisational context, Reed (2000) suggests scholars predominately adopt a more radicalised, ‘strong’ form of social constructivism. This perspective suggests that the social world is manufactured through human interaction (‘human agency’) and language/discourse (Houston 2001). As a result, this view privileges agency over structure, where human agency is viewed independently of social structure (Houston 2001) and that reality is “language dependent and discursively determined” (Gergen 1994, 72). Discourse, therefore, is assumed in the constitution of human subjects (Fleetwood and Ackroyd 2004; Reed 2000).

This thesis adopts the position that the pure descriptive approach of positivism and the ‘socially constructed reality’ of social constructivism, especially

in its strong form, both present a naive and restrictive view of the world (Farmer and Guba 2004; Fleetwood 2005; Reed 2000). For example, Elder-Vass (2012) explains that by privileging language, discourse and culture, social constructivism has stood in direct opposition to realist ontology. This is because this paradigm questions the existence of truth, objectivity and social reality (Fopp 2008). In its strong form, everything becomes a social construction, there is nothing else we can know of the world (Elder-Vass 2012) and no single reality against which comparisons and evaluations of competing knowledge claims can be made (Fleetwood 2005; Parr 2009). For Parr (2009), by privileging the discursive over the non-discursive phenomena, the latter are merely taken for granted. Similarly, by ignoring the possibility of social structure (economic, social, political and personal), social constructivism also neglects causality and the potential for inherent structural mechanisms to have causal processes, powers and properties (Parr 2009). As a consequence, Houston (2001) suggests that constructivism has difficulty offering suitable theories and solutions to a world faced with complex social dilemmas such as poverty, social conflict and development conflicts such as that surrounding the James Price Point LNG precinct, the case study examined in this thesis.

Leading governmentality scholars Peter Miller and Nicholas Rose defend social constructivism, claiming that structure and agency, as well as the possibility of causal relations between these properties, only burden such an analysis (Miller and Rose 2008). However, this research connects with the theoretical positions of Parr (2009) and McKee (2009), among others, who suggest that a governmentality approach can be strengthened with a consideration for structure, agency and causal relations. As a consequence, critical realism, as an alternative paradigm, is suggested as a more suitable frame to explore how and why people, institutions and places, events and spaces act, behave and operate in the way they do (Parr 2009).

There is a growing body of literature that argues critical realism's relevance to Foucault's more recent ideas about governmentality, power, discourse, knowledge and resistance (see, for example, Al-Amoudi 2007; Elder-Vass 2011, 2012; Fleetwood and Ackroyd 2004; Parr 2009). In fact, Al-Amoudi (2007), Al-Amoudi and Willmott (2011), Elder-Vass (2012), and Marsden (1999) have all taken realist readings of Foucault's work. As Marsden (1999, 181-182) suggests, there are

“several points of resemblance between Foucault and realism which suggest a *prima facie* case for their compatibility”. Collectively, these authors take the view that a critical realist approach avoids the pitfalls associated with Foucault’s constructivism, determinism, localism and reductionism tendencies (Al-Amoudi 2007).

4.2.2 Critical Realist Ontology

Critical realism acknowledges that interpretative understanding, as much as causal explanation, is critical for understanding any social phenomena (Sayer 2000). Thus, by drawing from both positivistic and interpretive techniques, critical realism’s application to this study is viewed as a more rigorous ‘third way’ philosophical approach, incorporating both an objective ontology and a subjective epistemology and a consideration for causal relations (Farmer and Gruba 2004; Healy and Perry 2000). From a critical realist perspective, it is believed that ontology matters more than epistemology as the way we think the world is (ontology) should influence the way knowledge is obtained about it (epistemology) (Fleetwood 2005).

This philosophical foundation credits its popularity to key theorist Bhaskar (1978, 1989) as well as the views of more contemporary scholars such as Archer (1995, 2000, 2003), Sayer (1992; 2000) and Archer *et al.* (1998). Its application can be identified in areas as diverse as the social sciences (Sayer 1984), management studies (Ackroyd and Fleetwood 2000; Fleetwood 2005; Fleetwood and Ackroyd 2004; Sayer 2000) and governmentality (Parr 2009). Paz-Vega (2010) also demonstrated its use in CSR research, suggesting that it offered an effective philosophical lens to explore the existence of causal mechanisms and the underlying structures that operate in an organisational context to shape and define decisions and outcomes.

Most critical realists draw inspiration from Bhaskar’s path breaking work (Roberts 2001). Bhaskar was originally motivated by the need for an alternative paradigm which was mainly established through three interrelated strands: ‘transcendental realism’, ‘critical naturalism’ and ‘emancipatory critique’ (Roberts

2001).⁸ More recently, he developed the paradigm further through his ‘dialectical’ and ‘spiritual’ turns (Elder-Vass 2010), but the latter turns have not been as influential (Potter 2003). The ‘critical’ in critical realism is not affiliated with the Frankfurt style of critical theory; rather, it refers to a form of transcendental realism that rejects “methodological individualism” and “universal claims of truth” (Denzin and Lincoln 2008, 13). As a result, it finds flaws in the theories of logical positivists, relativists and anti-foundational epistemologists (Denzin and Lincoln 2008).

Critical realism proposes a meta-theory that embraces both epistemological and ontological premises, and that is distinguished from other paradigms on the basis that it seeks to provide a critical account of ‘what is’ and ‘what might be’ reality (Sayer 2000). As a result, the paradigm is attentive to the complex layers of society with the intention of exposing the structures, mechanisms and generating trends that give rise to events and discourses (Bhaskar 1989). In this way, it facilitates both *understanding* as well as *explanation* (Stake 1995) for the aims and objectives of this research.

There appears to be no one master approach to critical realism, rather, a collection of principles (Ackroyd 2004). The first principle relates to the status of knowledge, in which critical realism draws a distinction between ‘transitive’ (knowledge produced by human beings: ideas, discourses, theories, beliefs), and ‘intransitive’ (knowledge of things that are either physical or social and their constitutive mechanisms) (Al-Amoudi 2007; Bisman 2010; Livock 2009). This means that there is a reality independent of what we think of it (intransitive) and our knowledge of it (transitive) (Wikgren 2005).

⁸ Within *Transcendental Realism*, Bhaskar suggested that the world is complex, and that the layers of the social world exist beyond the researcher’s senses. Within *Critical Naturalism*, Bhaskar wrote that social structures are the precondition of human action, but social structures are also reproduced by such human action. This then suggests that neither structure nor agency should be in a privileged position in determining the other. He further theorised that these structures inherent in the social world could not be understood using experimental conditions, rather pointing to an open system perspective (Roberts 2001). It was within *Emancipatory Critique* that Bhaskar suggested the values that we hold about society are also contingent on operating structures (Roberts 2001).

The second principle relates to mind-independent reality, where critical realism does not claim to have privileged access to absolute truths, rather, it advocates for a “probabilistic truth” (Bisman 2010, 9), which emerges from a genuine attempt to formulate a better means of understanding the social world and constructing a narrative about this reality (Cruickshank 2003). This stems from a metaphysical assumption that the world is independent of one’s representations, knowledge and identification of it (Fleetwood 2005; Sayer 1992; Cruickshank 2003). Multiple truths about a single, mind-independent exterior reality can exist, but the world exists without one observing, knowing or constructing it (Fleetwood 2004, 2005; Healy and Perry 2000; Saunders *et al.* 2009). By acknowledging this, we can avoid an ‘epistemic fallacy’, where reality becomes intertwined within our knowledge of it (Bhasker 1989; Livock 2009; Wikgren 2005).

The third principle relates to the notion of mediated access, where critical realism suggests that there exists no neutral research outcome. In other words, explanation, descriptions, interpretations and theorisations are always mediated (Fleetwood 2005). Thus, my interpretations and explanations are influenced by my own pre-existing body of knowledge and via accepted theories, norms and perspectives. For example, my analysis is mediated by having been born and raised in Perth, WA, as well as interpreted through an understanding of the historical development of WA (by Harman and Head 1982 among others), and my own views on what constitutes good CSR policy and practice.

The final principle relates to the complex nature of the world. Critical realism believes in the existence of mechanisms, structures, entities and power that generate events, making a world that is differentiated and stratified (in other words, having ‘ontological stratification’) – a position that is in stark contrast to positivism (Bhaskar 1978, 1989). Moreover, the world consists of diverse entities, events and relations, both observable and non-observable (Fleetwood 2005). Discourses are important, but the real and physical (non-discursive or extra-discursive) elements of the social world cannot always be reduced to language, discourse or human constructions of knowledge (Fopp 2008). This philosophy is therefore guided by the search for any potentially underlying “casually efficacious” factors (Wigren 2005, 13) and “generative mechanisms or structures” (Reed 2005, 1622), that are seen to

shape this layered and complex social world (Sousa 2010). This paradigm encourages thinking ‘in-depth’ about CSR and paying critical attention to the layers of society. Therefore, through this frame, the operation and experience of CSR must be viewed as a “plurality of structures” (Bhaskar 1989, 2), where events are shaped and formed by agents, mechanisms or emergent powers (Papa 2009). As a result, a relationship is created between micro-practices and events, and macro-structures and power operating within the political economy.

Critical realism directs its attention to structural impediments that are the structures, mechanisms and powers that determine, constrain and oppress social activities (Houston 2001). This is in alignment with the aims of this thesis. The frame of critical realism places emphasis on the conditions of CSR, whereby responses, behaviours and actions are made possible (Paz-Vega 2010). It is also particularly relevant and useful in seeking out facts about issues of justice, hardship, exploitation and dominance (Cruickshank 2003). Moreover, in drawing attention to the underlying generative mechanisms and structures that define certain events and discourses, the role of, and relations between, corporate, political and social institutions in shaping and influencing social reality can be better conceptualised (Collier 1994). The frame’s attention to the meaning and coherence of concepts is also well suited to exploring the spatial imaginaries being played out within specific contexts and for specific purposes (Castree 2001). In this way, critical realism is deemed to be effective in capturing the real difference spatial imaginaries make in the North West of WA (see Sayer 2000).

4.3 Research Design

4.3.1 Qualitative Research Design

Critical realism rejects the ‘one size fits all’ ontology for the exploration of social phenomena and suggests that the most appropriate research methods and techniques are defined by the nature of the problem being investigated (Ackroyd 2004). However, Fleetwood (2005) does suggest critical realist approaches tend to privilege qualitative over quantitative methods, because they consider social phenomena to be potentially understood, but not often meaningfully measured. In

support of this research's aim to explore the broader socio-political forces shaping and defining the 'CSR space' in the resources sector in WA's North West, the research employs interpretive and sense-making qualitative techniques. Qualitative research provides a suite of research instruments that can open up the 'CSR space' to capture its inherent complexity, ideological undertones, power asymmetries and contradictory experiences that maybe revealed in the construction and experience of CSR. The theoretical frames of governmentality and spatiality can only be accessed via powerful qualitative research strategies (McKee 2009). Thus, such an approach has proven instrumental in conducting a robust research investigation and achieving the thesis' aims and objectives.

Qualitative research is described as a "situated activity" consisting of a set of "interpretive practices" (Denzin and Lincoln 2000, 3) that seeks to arrive at an explanation of a social problem through understanding, rather than measurement (Dey and Nentwich 2006; Gill and Johnson 1997). Qualitative research deals specifically with "human lived experience. It is the *life-world* as it is lived, felt, undergone, made sense of, and accomplished by human beings" (Schwandt 2001, 84). It does so by describing, decoding, translating and adopting other techniques to better understand the influences, relations and processes defining the construction of a particular social phenomenon at a point in time (Van Maanen 1983). For these reasons, qualitative research approaches are frequently defended⁹ for their power to capture unexpected and hidden facets of human thought, behaviour and experience (Anthony and Jack 2009; Guba and Lincoln 1994; Schwandt 2001), discover new relationships (Daniels and Cannice 2004) and delve into complexities and processes (Marshall and Rossman 2006). In doing so, they can achieve great depth, breadth and richness (Denzin and Lincoln 2000, 2008). Qualitative methods therefore provide effective means to access and explore the discursive field in which CSR is conceptualised, represented, shaped, resisted and experienced.

⁹ I have used the term 'defended' because of the qualitative-quantitative binary that has had a long history in Western thought and has often resulted in positivist camps placing qualitative research as the inferior research approach (Dey and Nentwich 2006). It is the notion of quality verification — validity, reliability, generalisation and objectivity — that is said to distinguish good research from poor, and gives quantitative methodologies their perceived superiority and dominance in social sciences and business schools more specifically (Dey and Nentwich 2006; Kvale 1996).

4.3.2 Qualitative Case Study Methodology

For Foucault (2003, 128), research should be “more empirical, more directly related to our present situation, and one that implies more relations between theory and practice”. Given this, the application of a qualitative case study methodology makes it possible to “tease out and disentangle a complex set of factors and relationships” (Easton 2010, 119) defining the ‘CSR space’ and allows us to draw more conclusions between theory and practice. The case study research approach is considered a systematic, intensive and in-depth investigative enquiry focusing on real life phenomena, be it, at the level of an individual, organisation, project, profession, event, geographic location, community or whole country (Gillman 2000; Hewitt-Taylor 2002; Patton 2002; Stake 1995; Ticehurst and Veal 2000). This description reflects the two prevailing schools of thought in the field of case study research. The ‘process’ perspective most notably argued by Robert Yin, describes case research as a “process of empirical enquiry ... comprising of an all-encompassing method – covering the logic of design, data collection techniques, and all specific approaches to data analysis” (Yin 2003, 14). The ‘object’ perspective by Robert Stake describes case research by the field of study or defining characteristic as opposed to the methods used (Stake 1995, 1998).

Evidently, the literature does not conclusively provide a definition for case study research (Cavaye 1996). This research chooses to understand the case study as “a process of empirical inquiry” that involves a systematic and in-depth exploration of contemporary events in their real life context (Yin 1994, 2003, 14), whilst not losing sight of the case’s embedded nature within, and interrelationship with, the wider system, be that, an industry, region or community (Stake 1988). The aims of case study research are holistic in nature, focusing on the depth and comprehensive understanding of actors, relationships, sentiment and actions in addition to the processes of sense-making and systems thinking existing within this space-time arrangement (Borghini *et al.* 2010; Woodside and Wilson 2003). Consequently, case research provides the opportunity to embed theory within the practical reality and real diversity of life (Yin 2009).

Moreover, the case study approach is considered the most effective strategy for research objectives that aim to explain the ‘who’, ‘what’, ‘where’, ‘how’ and ‘why’ of a particular situation (Robson 1993; Stake 2000; 2003). In this way, the case study approach achieves the twin pursuits of both *description* and *explanation* (Stake 1995) of the socio-political construction of CSR. Perry (1998), Sayer (1992) and Easton (2010) also demonstrate the suitability of critical realism to case study research. For example, Perry (1998) suggested that case research is usually applied to research problems that are contemporary and where little theoretical development exists. Thus, the theory building power of case study research is in alignment with critical realism’s search for capabilities and analytic generalisations over regularities and statistical generalisation (Perry 1998). Easton (2010) argues that critical realism’s application to case research provides for those who seek thoughtful, in-depth research outcomes and who have research questions about why a particular social phenomenon has occurred in the way it has. The way critical realism and case study research attend to revealing ‘unobservables’ in the external world (Hunt 1991), such as structural, power and ideological relations embedded within CSR, further suggests the suitability of case research to this thesis’ aims and objectives.

Furthermore, Corcoran *et al.* (2004) and Alvarez *et al.* (1990) have demonstrated the applicability of case study research to develop critical analysis. The research is particularly valuable in examining the realm between policy and practice (Bryar 2000; Punch 2005; Zucker 2001) as Stake (1995, 245) noted “case study[s] can be a disciplined force in [the] public policy setting and reflection on human experience”. The context-specific knowledge gained from case analysis (Flyvbjerg 2001, 2006) is particularly important in understanding the social effectiveness of CSR, and in exploring the suggested disparity between the realm of CSR policy and practice (as noted by O’Riordan and Fairbrass (2008), Bakan (2004), among others).

4.2.2.1 Single Case Analysis of the LNG precinct proposed at James Price Point

While multiple cases can provide for the rich development of theory through cross case analysis (Perry 1998), this study employs a single case approach, developing in-depth insights into the CSR dynamics surrounding the formally

proposed onshore LNG processing precinct at James Price Point about 60km north of Broome off the Kimberley coastline. Yin (2003) supports the use of a single case study for its capability to generate in-depth, rich, descriptive and exploratory knowledge, though the single case must be well justified. For example, single cases are only applied effectively when the case is considered extreme and revelatory (Yin 2003), information rich (Patton 1990) and when two or more theories can be applied (Yin 1994). Following Stake (1995), the James Price Point case represents an intrinsic case study that was purposefully selected for the richness of its data as well as its unique, critical, revelatory and extreme characteristics. In other words, the study was considered to be a “catalytic element in the unfolding of theoretical knowledge” (Eckstein 1975, 100), for the socio-political construction of CSR within the resource sector in the North West of WA.

The case is regarded as a “bounded system” (Stake 1995, 436), in which the interrelated arrangements of people, processes, objects and events situated within these boundaries are of crucial interest (Stake 2000). This proposal was led by the State Government and emerged as one of the most controversial debates in WA’s industrial history, sitting alongside the controversial Noonkanbah mining dispute in the 1970s, and the old growth forest logging debate of the 1980s. As a result of this project, a normally peaceful town was seen to move into a state of conflict and social turmoil.

In the foreground lie Aboriginal family and relationship break-downs, clashes between locals and police, police arrests, and numerous legal challenges over the legal (and ethical) constitution of the State Government-led process. Public policy plays a crucial role in this precinct proposal, and the ‘CSR space’ constructed around the James Price Point case reveals a strong political and historical subtext, shown to be influenced by local, regional, state, national and global forces. Partly due to the various significant political manoeuvres (e.g. compulsory acquisition of the land, State Government’s role as precinct proponent), this proposal is worthy of an in-depth critical analysis. In particular, the ‘CSR space’ surrounding the proposal demonstrates the framing and relationships with the resources sector and other stakeholders. This case also draws attention to particular modes of governing CSR,

and reveals complex intersections between social, ecological, Aboriginal and economic issues, in respect to resource development.

Moreover, the ‘CSR space’ surrounding this precinct is being discursively constructed by a multitude of key players, including Traditional Owners, small business, the local community, media, industry, and the State and Federal Governments. This discursive field creates the foundations for “multi-perspectival analyses” (Tellis 1997, n.p.), thereby revealing differing perspectives, values and dominant ideologies that may prove hegemonic in shaping and defining the CSR construct. Drawing from Foucault, the continued mobilisation of activism that surrounds the James Price Point case suggests resistance toward a particular way of governing the ‘CSR space’ (Miller and Rose 2008). According to Punch (2005), resistance and conflict at the local level are regarded as important clues about the existence of power relations embedded within systems of governance. Resistance represents a challenge to existing “norms, discourses, mentalities – not entities or persons in particular positions in a hierarchy” (Ettlinger 2011, 549). Therefore, when resistance surfaces, there is a corresponding need for a more critical understanding of the system of governance that shapes and produces actions, behaviours and discourses of various kinds (Ettlinger 2011). In this thesis, resistance will be viewed as a “chemical catalyst so as to bring to light the power relations, locate their position, find out their point of application and methods used” (Foucault 2003, 128–9).

Moreover, from a critical realist perspective, these discernible events represent triggers for a need to understand why these events have happened (Easton 2010; Sayer 2000). In doing so, this perspective shifts the aims of this case research from merely a descriptive function to one built upon revealing any prevailing rationalities, ideologies, power dynamics and other structural mechanisms that have shaped and defined the ‘CSR space’.

As the boundaries between the case studies and their wider context are not clearly evident (Yin 1994), it is possible to connect “individual events and interpretations to a larger system of meanings and patterns” (Rice and Ezzy 1999, 1). This means that the events and processes that surround the James Price Point case

are embedded within a global socio-historical field, also providing an important context for this study (Stake 1995). For a holistic case analysis, Stake (1995) calls for the examination of various complexities, including the context in which it is located (e.g. physical, economic, ethical, political, legal, aesthetic). This arises from a view of social phenomena in general and case studies in particular as situational and influenced by various events and factors with variable scaling (Guba and Lincoln 1994).

Similarly, the theory of spatiality further suggests the existence of a variety of forces that come to define an event or thing at a particular space-time (Harvey 2004). Thus, the interpretation and analysis of the James Price Point case is not complete without consideration for the broader context of the resources sector in the North West, which becomes the basis for Chapter 5. Furthermore, the analysis of this particular case will be *instrumental* (Stake 1995); while providing “insight into an issue”, the case study will also “facilitate the understanding of something else” (Stake 1995, 137), that being, the socio-politically constructed ‘CSR space’ in the resource sector in the North West.

4.4 Research Process

Theory development often requires the interplay between inductive and deductive research approaches (Emory and Cooper 1991; Parkhe 1993). Even though the governmentality landscape includes a large body of literature that has subsequently taken Foucault’s ideas into different directions,¹⁰ and sometimes generates analyses which “are decidedly ‘un-Foucauldian’” (Rutherford 2007, 292), this has provided theoretical clues that have played a pivotal role in the design of this study and the analysis of data (Perry 1998). In Chapter 3, the ‘spaces of CSR’ framework detailed the process of bringing together an analysis of governmental

¹⁰ Some have produced realist accounts – including ‘realist governmentality’ (Stenson 2005, 2008a, 2008b) — while others highlight how governmentality works to produce bio-political knowledge (Legg 2005). There has also been focus on the formation of the subject (Gibson 2001) as well as the emergence of contra governmentality (Luke 1996).

rationalities, technologies, spatial imaginaries and lived CSR experiences. With these components of the analysis as the main goals, two critical phases are involved.

4.4.1 Phase One: Cross-Scale Analysis of Contextual Factors

This first phase (see Chapter 5) draws attention to various contextual factors – at the global, national, state, regional and local scales – affecting the James Price Point case. This highlights various political, institutional, discursive and spatial sensibilities that operate as structural features within the political economy of CSR. Particularly, attention is given to the way CSR is represented at the global level, and how it is governed at the Federal level. The politico-economic context in Australia and WA charts the historical development, the current role and the significance of the resources sector. Spatial representations of the resources regions are also discussed as they emerge in response to certain socio-political objectives (Rose 1999). Special attention is given to the Liberal-National Government of WA and the governmental technologies used to implicitly govern the CSR space.¹¹ These important exploratory pursuits help to identify the rules and terms of engagement between the resources sector, government and community within the political economy of WA and Australia, and provide insight into the power asymmetries that define these arrangements.

4.4.2 Phase Two: CSR factors in the James Price Point case

Phase two draws attention to the State of Western Australia and the local level by analysing the key CSR issues surrounding the case (see Chapter 6) and how these CSR issues ‘play out’ to shape the lived CSR experience (see Chapter 7). In Chapter 6, the prominent CSR issues identified within the case – *Aboriginal development*, *social cohesion* and *environmental protection* – are subjected to an analysis that illustrates how rationalities, technologies and spatial imaginaries variously underpin these CSR issues. Attention is also given to dominant discourses that gain hegemonic status (Fairclough 2005). In addition to the three CSR factors mentioned in italics above, Chapter 7 will explore *economic impacts* and the

¹¹ ‘Implicit’, as opposed to ‘explicit’, is used here, as there are few explicit measures to govern CSR.

community relations tactics of the case. The aim is to canvass the implications of such representations and modes of governing, including the marginalisation of particular interests and concerns surrounding the proposal. It is the process of bringing these three chapters together (Phase one and Phase two) that generates theory for CSR scholarship.

4.5 Methods of Empirical Inquiry

Both Stake (1995) and Yin (2003, 2009) have highlighted the importance of using multiple sources of evidence. The critical realist paradigm also “relies on multiple methods as a way of capturing as much of reality as possible” (Denzin and Lincoln 1998, 9). In this thesis, document analysis, semi-structured, in-depth interviews and participant observation are considered the most useful and relevant sources for knowledge creation and insight. These research techniques are appropriate as they make aspects of the world visible and knowable in different ways (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). They also feature as central research strategies of governmentality studies (McKee 2008; Miller and Rose 2008).

4.5.1 Secondary Data Collection

As illustrated in Figure 6, this research design has incorporated two main phases. The ‘pre-fieldwork’ phase involved a desktop analysis of secondary data sources. This phase began in January 2010 and has remained ongoing throughout, given the contemporary and evolving nature of the present case. A data set of 550 texts was collected and collated using the data management tool known as Nvivo 9. This data set was subsequently coded around five key stakeholder groupings: academia, media, community, government and industry. Through an analysis of academic sources, a variety of contextual factors were captured, which formed the basis for the development of Chapter 5. This material also proved critically important for the purpose of data triangulation. Given the level of interest in the project and the critical role the media had played in constructing representations of reality, an analysis of print and digital forms of media proved revealing.

Analysis of political texts formed a substantial component of the data set. Political rationalities are often found embedded within all forms of political discourse including political speeches, Hansard publications,¹² governmental publications, policy documents and laws/mandates (Nokkala 2006). An examination of rationalities embedded within political discourses provided a suitable vehicle to explore the rationalities underpinning the three key CSR factors identified within the James Price Point case: *Aboriginal development, social cohesion and environmental protection*, and their realisation via technologies of CSR governance. In this way also, an examination of political texts provided the link to an embedded field of power and knowledge (Graham 2005; Richardson and Jensen 2003). Secondary data from community perspectives included statements and commentary by Traditional Owners, small business owners, local (grass roots) community organisations and Broome residents, via such avenues as action group websites, Facebook pages and You-Tube videos, which were useful in understanding key issues, the lived CSR experience and those aspects of the ‘CSR space’ being resisted. Moreover, documentary evidence of industry data, including company fact sheets and industry representative publications, helped to establish similarities and differences between the way stakeholders define and understand CSR and the current policy being promoted.

4.5.2 Interviews

A substantial part of this research is based on interview data. Interviews are understood here as a “two-person conversation, initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information, and focused by him/her on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction, or explanation” (Cannell and Kahn 1968, 527-528). There were 51 semi-structured face-to-face, in-depth interviews conducted (plus one telephone interview) with industry, community, media and government stakeholders. These ranged in length from 30 minutes to 2.5 hours and were conducted in Perth and Broome. All interviews (with one exception) were voice-recorded with the permission of

¹² Hansard is the official reporting of all Australian parliamentary proceedings.

participants, and transcribed in full. A break-down of participants has been provided in Table 2.

Table 2: Interviewed Participants

Classifications	Stakeholders	Number
Government	State Members of Parliament (Greens, Liberal, Labor)	9
	Senior government officials (State)	6
	Senior government officials (Local – Broome)	2
Industry	Current and former mining professionals	3
	Industry Representative	1
	Company Representative	1
	Karratha business Representative	1
Community	Including Traditional Owners, small business owners, local community organisations, Broome residents	26
Media	Local Media Representatives	2

The interview data proved critical for understanding the beliefs and ideologies that underpinned the construction and experience of CSR. This is because rationalities are expressed within “the everyday parlance of those governed, such as local authorities, universities or individual people” (Nokkala 2006, 176). The interviews were powerful in capturing an individual’s constructions of reality (Punch 1998) and served as another key dimension to the process of description, interpretation and explanation (Kvale 1996).

Interviews with the stakeholder groups, government, community, media and industry, have contributed in various ways to the research objectives. The texts of the

interviews within these stakeholder groups were analysed to reveal the over-arching political rationalities and hegemonic programs contained within them (Barnett *et al.* 2008). In complementing the analysis of political speeches and government reports, interviews with government officials from the three main political parties (Labor, Liberal and Greens) were also triangulated, thereby adding further veracity to the findings. Interviews with industry and community representatives were included as they too are seen to be key architects of shaping the socio-political construction of CSR. Interviews with community representatives were especially useful for understanding the effects of the ‘art of governing’ on the lived CSR experience. Through close attention given to the participants’ experiences and interpretive understanding, the interviews captured alternative CSR realities among stakeholders. By capturing the community point of view, this thesis intends to provide a holistic understanding of how and in what way, political rationalities materialise on the ground including their effect on local actors, social relations and experiences (McKee 2009).

Many interview techniques exist, ranging from open conversations to highly structured questionnaires (Kvale 1996); each varying depending on the degree of structure in the interview, how deep the interviewer wants to go and the desire for standardisation across interviews (Punch 1998). Semi-structured, in-depth interviews have been used in the research underlying this thesis as they emphasise natural conversational tone with a clear purpose, structure and intent (Gillman 2000; Kvale 1996). This technique also allows for flexibility in probing participants: a technique used “to stimulate an informant to produce more information” (Bernard 1995, 215). As a result, this interview technique is especially useful for a descriptive and exploratory research investigation that seeks the ‘what’, ‘how’ and ‘why’ of case situations (Saunders *et al.* 2009).

Appendix 3 lists the key open-ended questions established prior to the interviews. For the four different stakeholder groups, the list of interview questions represented more of a guideline than a standard set of questions that could be replicated for each stakeholder. While it has been suggested that an absence of standardisation across interviews can expose data quality problems (Saunders *et al.* 2009), the issues explored within this thesis are complex, dynamic and context-

specific, and therefore not suitable for either replication or standardisation (Saunders *et al.* 2009). As Saunders *et al.* (2009) highlight, any attempt to ensure that qualitative, non-standard research could be replicated by other researchers would be inappropriate, unrealistic and potentially undermine the strength of the research. Therefore, the flexibility granted by non-standard interview questions was deemed appropriate in this research.

4.5.3 Observational Evidence

Participant observation is central to anthropological and sociological research (Kawulich 2005). This technique combines understanding from the individual's natural setting, in their 'reality', with that of generating "practical and theoretical truths about human life, grounded in the realities of daily existence" (Jorgensen 1989, 14). As such, observational techniques have strong construct and face validity and can also elicit valuable sense-making data (Eby 2011; Polit and Hungler 1995). This data collection technique provides detailed information, particularly in regard to exploring the outcomes of decision-making processes and practices (Aitken *et al.* 2011). For example, Ezeh (2003) demonstrated its power in exploring the peculiarities of the social structure of host communities in a Nigerian community.

Participant observation contributed to meeting the thesis' aims and objectives by providing a deeper understanding of the lived experience by intuiting what they really mean beyond what was revealed in interviews. Accordingly, the observational technique has descriptive, inferential and explanatory properties (Eby 2011). This means that, in addition to the perceptions discerned in the interview processes, observation provided direct access to assumptions existing within the local Broome community, and allowed the researcher to see and experience the effect of those assumptions (Bogdewic 1999).

Table 3 presents the various community protests, forums and speeches attended, in which the observational technique was used. Attending these events was a necessary component in the processes of making sense of key issues, experiences, actions and opinions of various stakeholders. As Bogdewic (1999) suggests, such questions as 'who', 'what', 'when', 'where', 'why' and 'how' are captured by

recording information, using field notes. According to Jaeger (1988), there are different degrees of involvement as a participant observer. For example, visits to the protest camps established at the entry to James Price Point were made sporadically during the three month field work process. These visits coincided with significant developments, such as when riot police escorted Woodside personnel through the protest camps, and when celebrities such as John Butler visited the campsite. During these incidences, my intention was to act as a limited observer and capture issues and experiences (c.f. Jaeger 1988). Similarly, as a limited observer at community forums, I paid attention to the nature of questions being asked at the forums, and any other clues to gain insight into the case. Whilst attending these events, the use of this technique provided the additional benefit of locating promising interviewees.

Table 3: Overview of participant observation

Event	Description	Location/ Time
Community Forums	Attended a community forum organised by the Socialist Party. This forum variously covered CSR issues within the resources sector. Speakers included ecologists, a union member, Greens MP Robyn Chapple and a local Aboriginal person.	February 2011 in Perth
	Attended a community presentation organised by the Association of Clean Energy Alliance in conjunction with the Wilderness Society. This was a presentation aimed at informing the community of potential pollution impacts associated with the LNG precinct.	March 2011 in Perth
	Attended a community meeting in Broome that canvassed feelings, experiences and strategies for Broome and the Kimberley, in the context of the LNG precinct.	June 2011 in Broome
	Attended a book launch that celebrated Broome's history as a pearling region, as well as canvassed the impact of the LNG precinct on this history. This was organised by the 'Old Broome' families, a term used frequently in Broome to describe prominent Aboriginal families who have lived in Broome for generations.	September 2011 in Broome
Community Protest	Attended a community protest event at the Cottesloe Civic Centre, organised by 'Save the Kimberley'. Various speakers including Aboriginal leaders were presenting, and informational stalls were set up.	November 2010 in Perth
	Attended the protest camps established at James Price Point.	June, July, August and September 2011 in Broome
Living in Broome	This allowed me to experience the lived impact: the visual displays of opposition in the form of signs of resistance using house banners and cars, before-and-after photos, signs on small business shop fronts, and overhearing conversations while waiting in queues.	July 2011 – October 2011

4.6 Sampling Strategy

As Yin (2003) suggests, initial participants were identified through an exercise of stakeholder mapping using secondary data sources, while additional participants were confirmed as being important by the various interviewees, a technique known as snowballing (Noy 2008). These participants were selected *purposively* on the basis of their ability to bring the most clarity and insight to the situation (Polkinghorne 2005). Their suitability was determined by their involvement in the governance of the resources sector and/or to issues that are relevant to CSR and the James Price Point case. Representation from the four stakeholder clusters provided a cross section of views and insight. It was also important to ensure equal representation of views and opinions from both sides of the political spectrum. The use of multiple participants at this time served as a form of triangulation and deepened the understanding of the current state of play (Polkinghorne 2005).

In respect to sample size, Mason (2010) indicated the existence of numerous issues that can affect sample size in qualitative research for PhD studies. However, Mason (2010, n.p.) considered the most important guiding principle to be “theoretical saturation”. Saturation is the term used for when the collection of data fails to reveal any further information about the case being investigated (Mason 2010). Despite the ambiguity that surrounds the application of the concept, Guest *et al.* (2006, 59) point out: “the idea of saturation is helpful at the conceptual level, it provides little practical guidance for estimating sample sizes for robust research prior to data collection”. Despite isolated attempts at quantifying an appropriate sample size for qualitative research (see, for example, Charmaz 2006; Green and Thorogood 2009; Ritchie *et al.* 2003), little guidance for qualitative methodology exists (Bowen 2008; Mason 2010).

In this thesis, sample adequacy was determined when “sufficient data to account for all aspects of the phenomenon [was] obtained” (Morse *et al.*, 2002, 12). Therefore, the concept of theoretical saturation appeared when there was more than sufficient depth and breadth of information acquired (Bowen 2008)

and enough data for sense-making purposes. This thesis relied significantly on secondary data sources, which filled analytical gaps in the data set and aided the identification of the point of theoretical saturation.

Additional factors such as limited financial resources, time frames, access to participants and the political sensitivity of the project also influenced the sample size. For example, access to Ministers and other government officials was restricted due to their availability or refusal to participate. For example, Premier Barnett declined to comment as it was a “busy period”. The Minister for Environment was “unable to comment” as the environmental approval process was not complete. The Minister responsible for Aboriginal Affairs indicated he “was not able to contribute” to the study. Similarly, the Broome Chamber of Commerce President Tony Proctor declined to participate, and the Kimberley Land Council was also “too busy” to be involved in the study. Some were initially happy to take part in a study about CSR, and then declined their involvement when they learnt it was also connected to the James Price Point case, highlighting the political sensitivity surrounding the project. However, these analytical gaps were filled by statements made publicly.

As the data collection process evolved, it became apparent that the representation of the ‘community’ sample was becoming skewed. However, there was a considerable variety of discourse within the interview text, indicating the existence of a heterogeneous community. Further, it became increasingly difficult to delineate and separate local small business owners from long-term residents. The research identified differences in opinions between new and old Broome residences, differences between the newly established and old small businesses, and also the types of small businesses. It became increasingly evident that the community was not homogeneous; instead it was a reflection of various residents who were in support, opposed or neutral to the proposal, and their divergent ideological reasoning. It was only after 26 interviews had been undertaken with the community that the discursive saturation point was arrived at.

The purpose of the sampling techniques and qualitative methods used within this thesis was to reveal a variety of discourses rather than to achieve statistical representation. Therefore there was a risk of perceived bias. Moreover, the community data presented in Chapter 7 which captured the lived CSR experience may also suggest my sympathy toward negative view points. This was not a reflection of the style of questioning; the questions were broad and open and focused on the interviewee's experiences of the process, and ignored their bias for or against the proposal. This also was not reflective of a 'pre-alignment' with the voices of those community participants opposed to the proposed development, but an emergent outcome of the research process. For example, while certain individuals were supportive of the project, this did not mean they thought that the processes of industry and government were ethical, fair and just. This was particularly evident in the recounted experiences of a Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner who played a central role in the negotiation process, was extremely supportive of the project, and continued to play an active role in the commercial activities after the Indigenous Land Use Agreement was signed. Despite chief negotiator Wayne Bergmann's support for the project, he often criticised the State Government's handling of the case, and in particular, the threat of compulsory acquisition and the absence of strategies designed to manage social impacts.

Therefore, it was the research's attention to the lived CSR experience that led to the results presented. It didn't serve the purpose of providing an assessment of how poorly government and industry performed, rather, for understanding the impacts the decisions of government and industry can have. The process illustrated the differences between various interpretations of CSR on the ground for resource communities. This attention given to the process and the lived CSR experience is meaningful and powerful, as industry and community conflict will continue to shape mining-related research and advocacy in the future (Kemp *et al.* 2011).

Table 4: Phase One: Pre-Fieldwork – Secondary data sources

Classification	Key Data Sources	Level of Analysis	Time	Key Outcomes
Academia	Academic journal	Regional, Industry	January 2010 – August 2013	<p>Provided the basis for the global-social-historical field which the CSR space is shaped and defined.</p> <p>Triangulated data through verification of interpretation</p>
Print and Digital Media	ABC Kimberley, The West Australian and The Australian	Regional, industry and project level	January 2010 – April 2013	<p>Background to the case study</p> <p>Identification of key issues</p> <p>Identification of key stakeholder discourses about CSR</p> <p>Identification of dominant representations of CSR reality</p> <p>Identification of how media contributes and feeds hegemonic discourses</p>
Community	Facebook, YouTube videos, Handouts circulating throughout Broome	Project level	January 2010 – August 2013	<p>How CSR is understood (Understanding CSR)</p> <p>Understanding facets of the lived CSR space</p> <p>Identification of key discourse, themes and issues</p>
Government	Parliamentary debates, government documents, media statements	Federal and State tiers of Government – general policy and project level	August 2010 – April 2013	<p>How CSR is defined (Defining CSR)</p> <p>How relationships between government and other stakeholders are defined</p> <p>Identification of the key debates, policy positions and resistance strategies employed</p> <p>Identification of the framing of key players</p> <p>Identification of the way problems were defined and solutions were constructed</p>
Industry	Industry statements, community fact sheets and industry speeches;	Industry – general policy and project level	August 2010 – April 2013	<p>How industry frames CSR</p> <p>How these align with other stakeholders' visions of CSR, (all the how questions)</p>

Table 5: Phase Two: Field work (face to face interviews and observational evidence)

Classification	Key Data Sources	Level of Analysis	Time	Key Outcomes
Government	Face to face in-depth interviews with <i>State politicians</i> (Liberal-National Party, Labor Party and Greens Party) <i>Senior government officials</i> of key government agencies: Premier and Cabinet, Indigenous Affairs, Environment, State Development, Mines and Petroleum, Port Authority and local shire	State, local and project level	August to October 2010	Political perspectives of CSR in the resources sector Identification of common discourses Identification of rationale and logic behind the James Price Point LNG precinct Identification of the way key problems and solutions are constructed
Community	Face to face in-depth interviews with: GJJ Traditional Owners Small Business Owners Local residents in Broome Representatives from local community organisations	Project level	August to October 2010	How CSR is understood Scoping community views about the LNG precinct Perception of government and industry roles How the process could be improved
Media	Face to face in-depth interviews Key local media representatives	Project Level	August to October 2010	Verification of key themes, key stakeholders and hegemonic discourses.
Industry	Face to face in-depth interviews Industry associations Industry representative Current and former Resource industry employees	State and Project Level	August to October 2010	How industry frames CSR Identification of the way problems are being defined and solutions are constructed How these align with other stakeholder visions of CSR
Observation	Participant Observations/Site Visits Attending NGO presentations in Perth Sitting in on a local community organisation meeting in Broome Attending community events in Broome Visiting the protest camp near James Price Point	Project level	August 2010 to August 2011	Verification of key issues Contextualisation of the case study

4.7 Analysis – Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The primary purpose of this research was to ‘deconstruct’ the ‘CSR space’ and explore the rationalities, values and prevailing assumptions embedded within its construction. In addition, there was a desire to connect with the host community to explore how CSR is realised and experienced. In Chapter 3, the suitability of the governmentality perspective was outlined. In addition, a case was made for the “spatial anchoring” (Baureidl 2007, n.p.) of CSR, as a way to re-imagine and re-constitute CSR through spatialised forms and arrangements (Clarke 2008). The ‘art of government’, including its spatial imaginaries, takes place within a discursive field in which the means and ends of government are articulated (Dean 2010; Miller and Rose 2008). In this thesis, the theory of discourse, and the collection of tools available for making sense of discourse, has informed the analysis.

In particular, this research is informed by the approaches underpinning Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a specific brand of discourse analysis (Burman and Parker 1993). CDA is differentiated from other styles of discourse analysis by its interest in: 1) *critique*, the pursuit of making visible the often invisible interconnections of society 2) *power*, the way power is maintained or challenged and reproduces social domination, and 3) *ideology*, the more hidden and latent types of everyday beliefs and representations of the world (Wodak 2009). The ‘critical’ and ‘revelational’ interest in language stems directly from the influence of critical theories, including Marxism, feminism, Gramscian notions of hegemony, the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory and Foucault’s theories of discourse, among others (Merkl-Davies and Koller 2012). Today, the CDA field does not present a universal set of ideas and research practices; rather, it is an interdisciplinary field where different scholars navigate the field of language in different ways. For example, they differ in terms of their focus on agency and structure as well as the level of their analysis (from detailed micro-level linguistics analysis to broad approaches). Table 6 provides an overview of the dominant schools of thought within CDA.

Table 6: Key strands of CDA theory

Key Theorists	Research Orientation
Foucault Discourse Analysis (Foucault 1972; 1991c).	<p>Distinct conception of discourse – not as language or social interaction – but as knowledge and closely intertwined with social control.</p> <p>Discourse can only be understood in context with the rules governing their functioning. The material and the discursive always happen according to rules, conditions of possibility and constraints</p> <p>The emphasis is placed on what the text does more so than what is being said. Why is it that these statements emerged and not others, and what are they seeking to achieve? Therefore, Foucault uses the ‘said’ realm to make sense of the ‘unsaid’. There is also emphasis placed on the relationship between words and things or objects.</p>
The Discourse-Historical Approach (Wodak 1996)	<p>Its purpose is to uncover inconsistencies, (self) contradictions and paradoxes that exist within text and discourses.</p> <p>It’s a ‘socio-diagnostic critique’ which seeks to unravel the manifest or latent character of discursive practices.</p> <p>Discourse is seen to be embedded in a wider frame of socio-political relations.</p> <p>Utilises a triangulation approach that combines multiple interdisciplinary techniques.</p>
Critical Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk 1993, 1998)	<p>Focuses on exposing the underlying power and dominance by elite groups and institutions in society.</p> <p>Focuses on elites and their discursive strategies for maintaining inequality and dominance, and understanding how elite groups enact, sustain, legitimise, condone or ignore social issues.</p> <p>Top down approach, so ignores the resistance and power that may be encountered.</p>
Dialectical-relational Approach (Fairclough 1999, 2003, 2004, 2006)	<p>Expanded definition of discourse to also include visual and body language – ‘semiosis’</p> <p>Seeks to explore the significance of semiosis and the dialectical relationship between semiosis and other social events, between orders of discourse and other social practices, and between texts and other social practices.</p> <p>Emphasises the ‘trans-disciplinary’ nature of CDA where it shows association with theories of the state, and (political) economy theories</p>

While a multitude of approaches to CDA exist, they are connected by a view of discourse as language as a form of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). This means that the content and linguistic elements identified within texts (written, spoken and visual) are shown to shape and in turn be shaped by the manner in which those texts are produced, distributed and received, and be shaped by the wider socio-economic-political context in which the texts exist (Merkel-Davies and Koller 2012). Thus, an implicit principle of any CDA approach is a dialectical relationship between language and society (Wodak 2009). The popular definition of CDA outlined by Fairclough and Wodak (1997, 258) captures the significance of discourse and its relationship to power, ideology and social practice:

CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of ‘social practice’. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it: The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people.

As a way to understand the socio-political framing¹³ of CSR in the resource sector of the North West, this approach draws heavily on Fairclough’s discourse-dialectical approach to CDA (Fairclough 1999, 2003, 2006, 2010; Farrelly 2010). Through his various works, Fairclough has shown interest in contemporary social processes and transformations, such as those of neoliberalism and globalisation (Fairclough 2005) – themes which are relevant to this study. Furthermore, his work builds upon Foucault (Wang 2006) and upon an association with Harvey’s views on

¹³ The word ‘framing’ relates to ‘discourse’ and the specific ways of representing a particular aspect of social life, such as, for example, corporate social responsibility, the Kimberley and the LNG precinct at James Price Point.

capitalism and the social construction of space (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). He also advocates a realist social ontology (critical realism) (Fairclough 2005, see also Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; Fairclough *et al.* 2004; Papa 2009). Such an approach identifies the potential for examining discourses within social practices, without reducing them in their entirety to discourse (Farrelly 2010). Moreover, Fairclough's approach to CDA is trans-disciplinary (Fairclough 2003) and therefore sits comfortably with this thesis' macro political-economic focus.

Although Fairclough provides a suite of tools to analyse discourse, he has shown a preference for exploring the linguistic features of texts in detail, and suggests the analysis of only one or two texts (Fairclough 2003). In this thesis, a broad approach has been taken, given the large data set, but one that is still informed by Fairclough's (1989, 1992, 1993, 1995) popular three-tiered framework, which captures the interrelatedness between text and context. This framework suggests that each discursive event has three dimensions, and involves an analysis of: 1) the linguistic features of the spoken or written *text* (the micro level) 2) the *discursive practice* (the meso level), including the production, distribution and the interpretation of that text, and 3) *social practice* (the macro-level) involving the political-economic-social contexts in which the discourse exists (Fairclough 2010).

The major attraction of Fairclough's model is its ability to make explanatory connections between the nature of discourse processes and the particular social practices they are embedded within (Fairclough 1992). In this way, it is possible to make connections between discursive practices, such as the threat of compulsory acquisition of land by the State Government, and the direct negative social experiences that were created as a result, and the political-economic-social context in which such decisions arose. Alternatively, a newspaper article may be critical for its framing of individuals, communities, regions and problems in specific ways for particular interests. Therefore, this analytical approach fitted comfortably with the critical orientation of this research.

4.8 Ensuring Credible Research

While this chapter has demonstrated the applicability and value of qualitative methods of inquiry, to bring about new forms of knowledge and understanding in a CSR context, these methods have also had a history of criticism for allegedly not meeting the standards of empirical social research (Clough 2010). Qualitative research has been criticised on the basis of being unscientific, only explorative, subjective, unable to verify truth claims (Yin 2003) and for lacking universal rules and methods for drawing conclusions (Miles and Huberman 1984). Moreover, while case study methodology is powerful for capturing in-depth phenomena, it too has received criticism, especially in relation to its trustworthiness (Bryar 2000) and its inability to generalise the data (Gomm *et al.* 2000). As a consequence, a number of techniques have been introduced into this study including criticality and critical multiplism (Bhaskar 1989; Guba 1990) and strategies for trustworthiness and analytical generalisation (Healy and Perry 2000).

4.8.1 Criticality and Critical Multiplism

Interpretive research is shown to be at risk from researcher bias toward participant responses and behaviour, thereby influencing outcomes (Lipson 1991; Shadish 1993). Howe (1985, 10) contends that being informed by critical realism eliminates “the intractable problem... of a forced choice between value-laden/qualitative and value-free/quantitative research methods”. Critical realists recognise the need for value-free research, that is, they take the view that the researcher’s beliefs should be separated from what is being studied. Critical realists also consider every method of knowledge acquisition to be equally limited at revealing reality (Wildemuth 1993). This gives rise to the notion of critical multiplism, where reality is revealed only through a thorough investigation of as many perspectives as possible (Letourneau and Allen 1999) “as a means to apprehend reality as closely as possible” (Guba and Lincoln 1994, 110).

Thus, this term is built upon the more familiar approach of ‘triangulation’, which refers to “the process of capturing multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation” (Stake 1995, 241).

This study used a “between method” form of triangulation as well as a “within method” form of triangulation (Denzin 1978, 302). In the former, the researcher considers the need to compare and contrast findings from different research techniques: interviews, documentary evidence and observation. For the latter, interviews with the Liberal-National Government were correlated with governmental discourses available on the public record to highlight repetition of discourses. Apart from its ability to capture multiple perspectives, triangulation of data also helps to reduce bias and provides the researcher with a greater assurance and confidence in the trustworthiness of the data (Bisman 2010).

4.8.2 Trustworthiness of Methods

Trustworthiness pertains to the accurate representation of the issues, features and experiences and other social phenomena being investigated (Hammersley 1987). Therefore, trustworthiness reflects how confident the researcher is about the truth or accuracy of the study’s findings (Lincoln and Guba 1985), and what procedures the researcher uses to substantiate the claims made. These discussions have their origins within the quantitative tradition in the form of ‘validity’, yet ‘trustworthiness’ is a key principle of qualitative studies (Krefting 1991). Suggestions for ensuring trustworthiness can be identified in a range of qualitative research textbooks and papers (Caelli *et al.* 2003; Glesne 1999; Patton 2002).

In this research, in addition to triangulation, evidence was supplemented through field notes, which were used to show experiences, understanding, thoughts and interpretations at each stage of the research process. The use of tables and appendices was also intended to provide another source of verification of claims. This tactic follows Yin’s (2003) suggestion that case studies demonstrate a chain of evidence, and Guba’s (1981) audit trail; both seek to detail the interpretational process and enhance the credibility of the research. Healy and Perry (2000) also suggest that systematic data management is important for trustworthiness. This parallels Yin’s (2003) suggestion for a case study database, which facilitates ease of identification of key information and critical quotations sorted by research subjects and participants, to be used in the data chapters. Moreover, the application of a

rigorous data management process may be seen as a technique for replication, a point to be further elaborated on below (Bisman 2010).

Secondary data was collated and coordinated using Nvivo 9 computer software, which facilitated systematic analysis through its capacity to sort, match and link data (Bazeley 2007). Validation of the conceptual and empirical outcomes of this research with the academic community was also important. The process of peer review proved critical for ensuring an appropriate understanding, interpretations and explanation of CSR theory and case analysis (Thompson 2004), particularly, when the core theoretical underpinnings of this research (governmentality and spatiality) had not been previously applied together within a CSR context. Thus, this work was examined externally in:

Wesley, A. and MacCallum, D. Forthcoming. The political economy of corporate social responsibility in the resources sector in Western Australia: A case study of the proposed James Price Point LNG precinct. In *Resource curse or cure: On the sustainability of resource development in Western Australia*, eds. M. Brueckner, A. Durey, R. Mayes, and C. Pforr. Heidelberg: Springer, pp xx.

Wesley, A. Brueckner, M., Pforr, C. and MacCallum, D. 2013. CSR: as governance space. In *CSR: Challenges, opportunities and strategies for 21st century leaders*, eds. J. Okpara and Idowu, S. Heidelberg: Springer, pp 35-50.

Wesley, A. 2010. The socio-political construction of corporate social responsibility. Presented at the ANZAM Best Doctoral Student Competition Award, University of Adelaide.

4.8.3 Relevance

From the positivist tradition, Campbell and Stanley (1963, 175) identified the concepts of external validity and generalisability to discuss the way data findings can be applied to other contexts. Smith (1975, 88) contends that good research is defined by its ability to generalise findings to other populations and times. From this contention, the question “what value could there be in knowing only the unique?”

emerged (Lincoln and Guba 2000, 27). As a consequence, external validity and the ability to generalise findings to wider samples has been a key endeavour for quantitative researchers (Schofield 2000). While this notion is an appealing construct (Lincoln and Guba 2000), the drive toward generalisation, external validity and applicability (Lincoln and Guba 1985) of data has far less significance within the qualitative domain (Schofield 2000). In fact, most qualitative researchers argue its irrelevance; qualitative research seeks a unique interpretation of events, not a generalisation of findings (Denzin 1983; Lincoln and Guba 2000; Merriam 1988).

In the context of case study research, Burns and Grove (1997), Holloway and Wheeler (1997), Wood (1997) and Yin (1994) state that by focusing on one case only, it becomes inherently difficult to apply the findings to wider populations. In fact, Sandelowski (1995) suggested that case study research's embedded nature makes applicability to wider contexts irrelevant. Even Stake (1978, 5) argued that case studies "are not suitable for the basis of generalisation". Due to these considerations, the case study method is not claiming to represent the world, but simply to present the complexities of the case (Stake 1995). Yin (1993, 1994) stated that if the research met the established objectives of the study, it should not matter how many cases were used.

Indeed, the findings of this investigation are unique and specific to the Western Australian context, and it would be inappropriate to generalise findings of the James Price Point case to other population samples in other states or countries. However, as Mjøset (2006) points out, case study research is an alternative method emphasising understanding and explanation, and generalisations from single or multiple case studies are directed toward building theory, as opposed to making claims about a population (Cavaye 1996; Yin 1994, 2003). This is reflected in the difference between statistical and analytical generalisation, as Yin (2003, 32) explains:

The method of generalization is "analytical generalization", in which a previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study. If two or more cases are shown to support the same theory, replication may be claimed. The empirical results may be considered yet more potent if two or more cases support the same theory but do not support an equally plausible, rival theory.

Case studies should be known as “a powerful means to create theory because they permit replication and extension among individual cases” (Eisenhardt 1991, 620) as opposed to a limited methodology (Giddens 1984). For this study, it is possible to generalise theories (Yin 2003) about the practical reality of CSR and to suggest further application of governmentality and spatiality theory to other research contexts – be they geographical, political, social or economic.

4.9 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter aimed to justify the research approach and describe and explain the design of the study, which facilitated the key factors of trustworthiness, reliability and rigour. Informed by critical realism, qualitative research has proven to be a powerful lens to explore the socio-political construction of CSR in detail. Of the various qualitative research strategies available, the case study approach was chosen. This approach aligns with the critical realist pursuits of description, explanation and critique. Given the complex nature of the resource sector, the case study approach was also seen to be the most effective vehicle to interpret the effects of governing within the local context.

A variety of sources of evidence were used to examine the case in detail including interviews, observational evidence and document analysis. Data analysis and data collection were suggested to be simultaneous processes within the framework of CDA. These processes emphasised the interrelated nature between discourse and social practice, and captured the workings of power and ideological shaping between them. Data entry in Nvivo 9 was seen to be the most effective way to manage the data and facilitate its analysis. The data is presented over the next three chapters, as the background to an investigation of the rationalities, technologies and spatial imaginaries reflected across various scales.

CHAPTER 5 FORCES AND CONFIGURATIONS

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 presented the view that CSR should be conceived as relational space. This conceptualisation acknowledged the existence of a range of contextual factors, and included relations of power in its constitution. The principal aim of this chapter is to make sense of rationalities, technologies and spatial imaginaries that shape the constitution of CSR at both the Federal and State level. This is done by identifying and exploring some of the socio-political, geographic and economic factors that shape CSR both directly, and indirectly. The chapter begins by previewing CSR as a global phenomenon, and develops further upon the ideas presented in Chapters 2 and 3 to identify contemporary thinking about the key values, assumptions and characteristics shaping CSR at the global level. This discussion provides the necessary analytical background to demonstrate the existence of a hegemonic global agenda within national CSR discourses in Australia.

This chapter also makes an exploratory assessment of the politico-economic contexts of both Australia and WA with its current Liberal-National State Government, and places a particular focus on the positioning of the resource sector within the system of governance. The chapter also looks spatially at the discursive construction of particular territories, namely the North of Australia and more specifically, the Kimberley. By the end of the chapter, it will become apparent that the system of CSR governance surrounding the case at James Price Point is one that is strongly swayed toward corporate interests and the government's own economic interests.

5.2 Defining a Global Trajectory of CSR

Current debate within the CSR field points to several key global forces shaping the constitution of CSR. For example, the “moralisation of the corporation” (Shamir 2010, 535) came about at the same time as the “economization of the political” (Shamir 2008, 1), which was accompanied by the process of decentring

(Brenner 1999b) or hollowing out (Jessop 2004) of the nation state. These “neoliberal ruling mentalities” (Charkiewicz 2005, 80), encompassing economic ideology and technologies of production and control (Mitchell 2006), have been responsible for marked changes in the political and social landscape (Charkiewicz 2005; Enoch 2007).

This market-based economic rationality has now come to shape how regulatory authorities are organised, their policy positions, their corporate-like ethos and the social and environmental consequences on the ground (Bourdieu 1999; Harvey 2005b; Jayasuriya 2005; Jessop 1997; Lemke 2001; Strange 1996). CSR was deployed to respond to the effects of production, and given its individualising tactics, CSR has sat comfortably with these neoliberal mentalities (Charkiewicz 2005; Enoch 2007; Shamir 2004, 2005; Wright and Rwabizambuga 2006). The global discourse for CSR suggests that indirect forms of regulation and a range of internal CSR instruments in the form of voluntary corporate codes of conduct, as well as strategic stakeholder partnerships (with for example, the World Wildlife Fund ‘WWF’), are considered as adequate substitutes for ‘hard’ regulatory approaches (Enoch 2007; Shamir 2004).

While corporations are emerging as global private authorities capable of influencing and shaping socio-economic-political spaces (Shamir 2004), there is also a global capitalist accumulation agenda being pursued aggressively. This places the extraction and exchange of key resources (raw materials and energy) at its epicentre. With continued production imperatives, new territorialities are being opened up to industrial development using domestic and foreign capital at an ever increasing rate (Harvey 2006). Localised CSR policy and practice thus emerge as moral legitimisation tools, sources of modification, or “spatial fixes” (see Jessop 2006, 142) for a global system of capitalist relations of production, that is premised on profit maximisation and a never-ending cycle of growth (Enoch 2007; Magdoff and Foster 2012).

The literature also points to a systematic entrenchment of the profitability and competitiveness agenda that underpins the business case permeating CSR discourse (e.g. Blowfield and Dolan 2008; Shamir 2008; Vallentin and Murillo 2008, 2009,

2012). The profit promotion message is being effectively legitimised by key knowledge disseminators as ‘truths’: academic CSR theorists (particularly from American business schools) alongside experts, corporate executives and a range of non-government organisations are the critical disseminators (Amaeshi *et al.* 2009; Osuji and Doh 2009; Shamir 2004; Vallentin 2012). John Elkington (1997) who pioneered the ‘greening’ of business can be seen – perhaps unwittingly – as an architect of this shift in CSR, since his influential concept of the ‘Triple Bottom Line’ has become a platform for non-financial reporting (Charkiewicz 2005). This shift meant that the discourses of CSR and sustainability were effectively moved from their roots in environmental and social justice towards cost-benefit analysis and other similar economic concepts (Charkiewicz 2005). Thus, CSR was defined as a “merger of profits and morals” (Charkiewicz 2005, 78) or as “converging values with value creation” (Shamir 2008, 11). Shamir (2004) points to the dozens of MaNGOs (Market-orientated Non-Government Organisations) operating in Europe and United States that promote this kind of CSR, which is easily amenable to business interests.

We have since witnessed a gradual and systematic framing of CSR as a business opportunity, resulting in the concept becoming embedded within a system that undermines CSR’s radical social transformative potential (Shamir 2004). Björn Stigson, president of the foremost industry association for sustainability, the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD), strongly promotes the economic arm of CSR:

A coherent ‘CSR’ strategy, based on integrity, sound values and a long-term approach can offer clear business benefits. These cover a better alignment of corporate goals with those of society; maintaining the company's reputation; securing its continued license to operate; and reducing its exposure to liabilities, risks and associated costs (in Enoch 2007, 81).

This dominant economic arm of CSR also extends to the belief that economic development is in its own right a form of social responsibility (Blowfield 2005b), as it provides sustainable livelihoods for local communities (Enoch 2007). This perspective also underpins the WBCSD’s justification that “sustainable development is good for business and business is good for sustainable development” (Shamir

2010, 11). Business development opportunities are then closely interrelated with the goal of poverty alleviation, and intertwined within CSR policies and practices (Fox 2004). In short, all matters social and environmental are thus prone to fall within the extensions of the market, under the umbrella of a narrowly constructed brand of CSR, and have become subject to a dominant economic rationality. As such, calls once made for value changes at the firm level have effectively been replaced by the notion that enlightened, economic self-interest serves the common good.

While the merger of profits and morality mantra finds itself sitting comfortably with corporate mandates, the influential work by Zadek *et al.* (2002) and Zadek and Swift (2001) has shown how it complements governmental ambitions as well. These authors argued that CSR leadership by government is important for the competitive advantage of nations and within the international sphere. The pioneering work of Porter (1985), and his highly influential book *The Competitive Advantage of Nations* (Porter 1990), informed Zadek *et al.* (2002). Zadek *et al.* (2002) in turn argued that nation-states and international firms were participants in a global field of competitiveness, and therefore require new forms of governance between industry, government and other social actors. Consequently, they saw competitive responsibility as the third generation of CSR. This also demonstrates another manner in which the economisation of the market extends into the field of morality (Shamir 2008).

This section aimed to bring to the surface some chief global drivers in the construction of CSR. It is possible to say that CSR is a ‘Northern’ phenomenon that is trending ‘South’ (Fox 2004). For Australia, which has been relatively late in the uptake of CSR, the governmentalisation of CSR is shown to have linkages and connections with this ‘Northern’ breed of CSR.

5.3 The ‘Governmentalisation of CSR’ within the National Space

As a resource-based economy and an advanced industrial nation, Australia has not been immune from the agenda of “neoliberal hegemonic globalisation” (Shamir 2004, 670). While this cycle of production and style of growth remains, and National Governments continue to embrace a neoliberal logic of the market, there

has also been a commensurate increase in, and debate over, the need to advance leadership roles in shaping how corporations act and behave (Bell 2005). Examples of how governments can approach CSR can be found within the works of Albareda *et al.* (2007), Albareda *et al.* (2004, 2008), Mendoza and Vernis (2008), Steurer (2010) and Tencati (2004). These studies show how governments in Europe and the UK employ more proactive approaches to CSR. By comparison, Australia has been reactive; yet only recently have the discourse of ‘corporate social responsibility’, ‘responsible business practice’ and ‘responsible development’ become discursive features of the modern liberal governing apparatus in Australia.

The most significant development came about during the 2005/2006 *Corporate Responsibility: Managing Risk and Creating Value* discussion forum (Commonwealth of Australia 2006). This can be understood as a primary discursive event for understanding CSR at the Federal level. Similar to the findings of other researchers in the field (e.g. Shamir 2008, 2010), corporations and a host of other players – research bodies, consultancies and industry coalitions – strongly discouraged prescriptive mechanisms, on the grounds that government should not “stifle economic growth with regulation that can overly constrain entrepreneurial, innovative and growth orientated forces of business” (Commonwealth of Australia 2006, 174). They argued that mandatory measures would create the “lowest common denominator effect” and “a tick-the-box culture of compliance” (Allens Law Firm 2006, n.p.). As demands for prescriptive forms of CSR have been strongly resisted by key players in the international community (see Shamir 2004, 2008, 2010), in this context, the global forces have penetrated locally. Australia’s corporate coalition was equally effective in arguing that CSR activities were more likely to be embedded within corporations’ mindsets if they were voluntary and governed through corporate self-regulation.

As illustrated by the scholars drawing upon governmentality perspectives of CSR in the UK and other EU countries (e.g. Shamir 2008; Vallentin and Murillo 2008, 2009, 2012), the Australian Federal Government continues to be operating in a corporate space to encourage and shape a particular kind of CSR, without regulatory enforcement for sustainability or CSR activities including reporting mechanisms. Therefore, the policy position at the Federal level is one of encouragement and

facilitation of socially responsible activities, via communication, education, incentives (financial) and regulatory tradeoffs for undertaking responsible business practice. In Australia, “corporate self determination” (the conduct of corporations) is therefore achieved through “liberal and indirect means of steering” by the Federal Government (Vallentin and Murillo 2012, 827).

What is in stark contrast to other international jurisdictions is Australia’s relative silence in the ongoing debate about CSR. For example, non-financial reporting measures have become mandatory in many European countries, but remain voluntary in Australia. In the UK, there is a Ministry devoted to CSR, and within the *UK Corporations Act 2006*, corporations are now legally required to consider stakeholder interests. For the *Australian Corporations Act 2001*, “it was put strongly to the committee ... that there was no need to change the existing legal framework, because it is currently sufficiently open to allow companies to pursue a strategy of enlightened self-interest”¹⁴ (Commonwealth of Australia 2006, xiv). Therefore, the *status quo* was strongly defended, preferencing a brand of CSR that was couched within neoliberal values: choice, flexibility and markets. Therefore, the outcome of the *Managing Risk and Creating Change* forum was endorsed as a success by the business community, as noted by the Australian Institute of Company Directors’ Chief Executive Officer, Ralph Evans: “It’s a win for the community and business. It encourages business to act in a socially responsible, environmentally responsible way, without making some heavy handed judgements” (Allens Law Firm 2006, n.p.).

Under the recent Federal Labor Government, there are very few ‘explicit’ governmental apparatuses devoted to CSR. Nevertheless, the former Government

[was] committed to fostering corporate social responsibility in the Australian business and investment communities. Facilitating a greater awareness of responsible business practice in Australia can contribute to long term profitability of corporate Australia and deliver benefits to the community (Senator Sherry 2009, n.p.).

¹⁴ The committee defined enlightened self-interest by stating “careful and appropriate corporate responsibility is almost always in the interests of the corporation” (Commonwealth of Australia 2006, 46).

This quote demonstrates “disciplinary intent” (Vallentin and Murillo 2009, 5) in the way CSR is framed: most particularly CSR is couched within the terms of the ‘win-win’ ideology – the dominant message from capitalist strands of CSR theory that CSR is good for business and good for the community. Then Prime Minister Julia Gillard was quoted in 2011 promoting the business case for CSR: “Corporate Social Responsibility can make a significant contribution to the long term profitability of companies” (Alembakis 2011, n.p.). Similarly, the *Managing Risk and Creating Value* forum strongly promoted profitability, competitiveness and risk management. Therefore, the transformation of CSR from a tool for social change to “Managing Risk and Creating Value”, as the title of the forum denotes, is firmly embedded within the business case for CSR. In effect, such governing facilitates corporate self-interest within the mantra of responsibility (Selznick 2002).

Senator Sherry’s statement about delivering benefits to the community quoted above, also evokes particular meanings about CSR when read in context with similar industry discourse (Insert 1, below). These examples display a common belief that industry is intrinsically good for the community, alongside the advancement of technology and science, to bring about advanced social wellbeing (Enoch 2007). In fact, it is this very interpretation of ‘benefits’ within the James Price Point case that was contested (see Chapter 7). Similarly, as Brueckner and Mamun (2010) and Brueckner and Ross (2010) have illustrated in their case study of the Alcoa Refinery in Wagerup in WA, this discourse can be particularly problematic.

Business Council of Australia

“It is important to note that ... the greatest social contribution made by corporations is through the goods and services they provide, the wealth they create and the employment they generate” (Commonwealth of Australia 2006, 10)

Alcoa

“Our investment has provided essential infrastructure and supported the growth of regional communities. We are one of Australia’s leading regional employers, and we provide more than 7,500 jobs, mainly in regional Victoria and Western Australia” (Commonwealth of Australia 2006, 10-11)

Insert 1: Examples of Industry Discourse

Furthermore, governmentality theory highlights the operation of an open field of governing practices that involve a host of non-state actors and intermediaries, including non-governmental organisations (NGOs), industry and trade, businesses, experts and citizens (Barry 2004). This “market of authorities” (Shamir 2010, 536) has played a key role in shaping CSR in Australia through the introduction of principles, codes of conducts, indices, ratings and standard-setting mechanisms. For example, within the *Managing Risk and Creating Value* forum, new roles have been identified by the Australian Government for industry associations and peak bodies to actively promote CSR to their corporate members (Commonwealth of Australia 2006). The St James Ethics Centre has been commissioned by the Federal Government through Treasury to expand sustainable, responsible business practice nationwide. The Centre is the Australian ‘home’ for the Global Reporting Initiative, Global Compact Network Australia, Good Business Register, and the Corporate Responsibility Index. It is also responsible for the Corporate Responsibility Leaders Network, which comprises of leading multinational organisations – ANZ, BHP Billiton, Boral Limited, Energy Australia, Rio Tinto, Toyota and Westpac – to shape the CSR agenda in Australia (St James Ethics Centre 2013).

The Centre also coordinates a website *the hub – of responsible business practice in Australia*, which explicitly references the World Business Council of Sustainable Development (WBCSD). As WBCSD president, Björn Stigson explains: a coherent CSR strategy, based on integrity, sound values and a long-term approach, can offer clear business benefits. These include a better alignment of corporate goals with those of society, maintaining the company's reputation, securing its continued license to operate, and reducing its exposure to liabilities, risks and associated costs (The Hub 2013). Similarly, the Corporate Responsibility Index – another initiative of the Centre – makes reference to the following quote from Niall Fitzgerald, the former CEO of Unilever:

Corporate social responsibility is a hard-edged business decision. Not because it is a nice thing to do or because people are forcing us to do it ... because it is good for our business (Corporate Responsibility Index 2013, n.p.)

This quote strongly portrays CSR as a simple, rational, economic business decision, where there is seemingly no space for altruism or non-business values. Similar themes for the business case are being communicated by other key industry players. In Insert 2, the Business Council of Australia (BCA), the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and Woodside strongly support the view that CSR has advantages for the corporate bottom line, citing various reasons such as operational efficiency and corporate reputation.

Business Council of Australia

“There are identified competitiveness opportunities such as: developing the economy and community in which it operates; working with government to facilitate better regulatory regimes; integrating environmental breakthroughs to reduce lifecycle costs and improve efficiency and effective communication with customers” (Commonwealth of Australia 2006, 22).

The Chamber of Commerce and Industry (CCI)

“The commercial incentive is not purely to avoid negative outcomes. Many businesses have implemented triple bottom line accounting and achieved improvements in operating efficiency or savings in input or waste management costs. These measures are adopted by firms because they make good business sense and are in the best interest of shareholders” (Commonwealth of Australia 2006, 22).

Michael Chaney, Chairman of Woodside

“There is also an increasingly strong business case to be made for ethical and responsible actions having a significant and positive action on corporate reputation. And since your reputation affects how much people will support you, ultimately on the value of the company” (Chaney 2011, n.p.).

Insert 2: Examples of ‘Strategic CSR’ Discourse

The Committee for the *Managing Risk and Creating Value* forum also emphasised the angle of operational efficiency by stating that “there are still vast improvements to be made in corporate responsibility in areas which do generate profits” (Commonwealth of Australia 2006, 51). The forum also explained the need for metric analysis to “quantify the benefits of corporate responsibility and sustainability reporting” (Commonwealth of Australia 2006, xviii).

Thus, the type of CSR being promoted within this discursive field is one that strongly supports shareholder value through profitability and competitiveness and, ironically, gives very little emphasis to those who are the intended beneficiaries of CSR. By promoting CSR through the business case, there is a strong suggestion that CSR is something that is “rational, relatively clear, systematic and explicit” (Dean 2010, 18), which fails to account for CSR’s ‘real world’ complexity. Within the scholarly landscape, these marketed aspects of CSR (Shamir 2005, 2010) are rarely the subject of critique; codes of conduct, reporting mechanisms, auditing and verification schemas are taken as “ideationally neutral” (Blowfield and Dolan 2008, 2). However, as this analysis demonstrates, CSR is strongly ideological in character. In fact, the shape of CSR suggests that it is embedded within an advanced liberal governmentality. The proceeding sections will show how the advanced liberal practices that shape the constitution of CSR are coordinated in the Australian and Western Australian contexts.

5.4 Australia’s Political-Economic Context

In its politico-economic transformation, Australia emerged differently to that of other capitalist economies such as Britain and the United States until the 1980s. Offe (1975) defined four operational principles of liberal capitalism: 1) the state is excluded from economic development and production decisions 2) the state is dependent on capital and capitalist accumulation process 3) the state maintains and services the needs of the accumulation process, and 4) the state ensures legitimisation to ensure societal acceptance of the system. Australia did not display many of these standard principles for liberal-capitalist development (Bell and Head 1994); the government took a more active role in the direction and orientation of economic management (Bell and Head 1994; Tonts 2002). This involvement was largely influenced by its infrastructural shortcomings and Australia being a sparsely settled continent (Bell and Head 1994). The Federal Government played a key role in infrastructure provisions for economic development such as roads, railways, harbours, telegraphs, town water supplies and irrigation. This occurred alongside the protection of industry and commerce, as well as the encouragement of foreign investment, immigration and regulation of the workforce (Head 1986).

It was only at the beginning of the twentieth century that Australia began to gain a strong financial position. The famous gold rushes of the 1890s and the developing export commodity market, particularly wool, meant that “Australians were rich and wanted to stay that way” (Bell and Head 1994, 8). By Federation, the mining industry in Australia was well established, with gold accounting for three quarters of the value of export commodities being produced (Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2001). Australia showed strong concerns for materialism and prosperity to the point where politics, society and economy could be understood through the slogans of ‘progress’ and ‘development’ (Head 1986). Australia subsequently invested heavily in infrastructural works for growth in the private sector, and actively encouraged foreign capital investment in commodities development and manufacturing (Butlin 1959; Loveday 1975).

By the late 1930s, mining played a relatively minor role in the Australian economy with the industry being severely hit by a series of international events: World War 1 in 1914, the Wall Street stock market crash in 1929 and the Great Depression in 1930 (ABS 2001; Appleyard 1981; Ye 2008). There was also concern over the extent and adequacy of resource deposits in Australia leading to a decision in 1938 to place an embargo on iron ore exports.¹⁵ The importance of the mining industry grew during World War II with rising international demand for metal (ABS 2001). As a result, in 1946, the Federal Government established the *Bureau of Mineral Resources*, which facilitated systematic geological surveys for mineral discoveries (ABS 2001).

Between 1949 and 1972, under the Liberal-Country Party, the ‘open door’ policy for foreign trade, protectionist policy from international competition and active immigration programs were used to drive rapid industrialisation (Bell and Head 1994). Specific legislation was introduced to encourage industrialisation, such as, the *Petroleum Search Subsidy Act* from 1957 – 1974, which used subsidies to successfully encourage onshore and offshore oil and gas exploration (ABS 2001).

15 This Australian Government received a report from geological advisers raising serious concerns about the availability of iron to meet Australian’s domestic requirements (Australian Government 1940).

The growing political support for the mining and petroleum industry, the active encouragement of foreign capital as well as the abundance of mineral deposits discovered led to a significant increase in transnational mining companies, bringing about new expertise and ideas as well as mining expenditure in the 1960s (ABS 2001; Perry 1982). This explosion of interest occurred concurrently with the general expansion of the world economy (ABS 2001).

During the 1970s, foreign direct investment (FDI) continued to play a major role in Australia by providing the necessary capital, management, technology and market access required for industry development, especially in the resources industry (Perry 1982). An open door policy for foreign companies was perceived as necessary to overcome economic disadvantage, bolster national development and fund the balance of payments (Bell and Head 1994; Castles 1988). In fact, formal structures were established to attract and monitor FDI, such as the *Foreign Investment Policy and the Foreign Investment Review Board* administered by Treasury (Perry 1982). However, the dependence on foreign capital and on a narrow range of exports meant that Australia was severely exposed to overseas fluctuations and thus, economic vulnerability (Castles 1988). For example, the mining industry was directly impacted by increased overseas competition, which created a surplus in world markets (ABS 2001). The oil crisis in 1973 created other negative macro-economic effects, and while it impacted the performance of most OECD countries, Australia was one of the hardest hit (Castles 1988). With the continual decline of mineral prices and decline of trade in the world markets among other international forces, Australia went through a significant period of escalating account deficits and economic decline in the early 1980s (Castles 1988). A political discourse of helplessness emerged to foreground radical political changes that were about to come (Painter 1996).

As a consequence, economic reform began in the early 1980s under the Hawke Labor Government (Western *et al.* 2007) as a result of the Campbell report's recommendations for financial deregulation and the floating of the exchange rate¹⁶

¹⁶ The Campbell Committee of Inquiry into the financial system was established in the Fraser Liberal Government (1975-1983).

(Pusey 2003a). Significant economic reforms emerged as:

Take-no-prisoners top-down re-engineering of a whole national society. We were told that we had to shake off our history of ‘protection’ and ‘institutional inertia’ and make ourselves ready for competition in the new ruthless global economy (Pusey 2003a, n.p.).

Without a focus on “greater economic efficiency and political control of the economy” (Castles 1988, 27), Federal Treasurer Paul Keating suggested Australia would become a “banana republic” (Pusey 2003a, n.p.). This signalled the end of the Keynesian welfare state model, and the dominant role of the nation state in shaping economic relations over tariffs, industrial relations, wages and the distribution of national income (Bell and Head 1994; Pusey 1991). With the shift to the doctrine of market liberalism across the political spectrum (Bell and Head 1994; Tonts and Haslam-McKenzie 2005), the discourses of ‘market forces’ and ‘minimalistic state involvement’ were set alongside powerful arguments against public involvement in business and in wealth distribution as well as excessive regulation, taxation and government spending, which had a significant impact on public policy (Bell and Head 1994). As a result, government involvement was withdrawn in favour of free-wheeling economies, markets, freedom, and individuals (Pusey 2003b). The aim was to make the Australian economy freer, and more open and less subject to government involvement (Hendersen 1995).

For a Labor Government to embrace these economic ideas, that are most often associated with the fringes of the political right, was “shocking” and “puzzling” for many (Painter 1996, 287). The political changes were significant and far-reaching. The Hawke-Keating Government sought to remove all barriers that protected the industry from international forces so that the markets would stimulate economic growth (Bell and Head 1994). There was a reduced commitment to social welfare and a continued focus on international competitiveness (Tonts and Haslam-McKenzie 2005). While the nation state has long played an important interventionist role, at the same time, there was caution against constraining, or intervening in industry activity (Bell and Head 1994). In fact, throughout Australia’s political life, there has been an inherent belief that “market actors, not government officials, knew best how to run their firms and industries” (Bell and Head 1994, 11).

Many believed that big business was the only ‘winner’ emerging from this form of economic restructuring (Pusey 2003a). For example, Pusey (1991) and Painter (1996) believed that these policy changes were the product of a state-business coalition of class interests, with the implementation of dramatic ideas of a liberal market as the mere tools of these interests. An alternative view held that it would encourage entrepreneurship (Painter 1996). However, there was the belief that Australian politics had become “hostage to a set of overriding economic truths and necessities” (Painter 1996, 288). Government officials were no longer seen as neutral but acting within the economic political agenda of their ministers, and powerful and influential departments and actors who were committed to this kind of economic rationalism (Pusey 1991).

From these economic reforms, key outcomes included the alignment of industry in collaborative partnerships with government and a continued openness to foreign investment (Castles 1988). Foreign capital was essential to alleviate the increased debt levels, and therefore, overseas investors, lenders and currency traders became increasingly influential in shaping domestic economic policy (Bell and Head 1994). By the late 1980s, Castles (1988) reported that more than 50 per cent of the mining sector was foreign owned. This, however, made Australia the weaker player internationally (Head 1986), and created a situation where decisions were made, with less emphasis placed on the interests of national economic welfare and more placed on those within the business community (Castles 1988). Subsequent questions over the social and economic realities, as a result of these extreme economic transformations, are witnessed in the literature (see Brueckner 2007; Pusey 2003a, 2003b).

The 1990s brought about another period of change for the mining industry. Mining companies were seen to go through a period of consolidation in line with desires for improving efficiency and enhancing competitiveness, as the globalised world became more apparent (ABS 2001). However, the economic crisis in Asia in the late 1990s again exposed Australia’s vulnerability to world markets, and led to a reduced demand for many mineral commodities and further declines in metal prices (ABS 2001). Despite this, the minerals industry was able to retain its role as a major source of export income for the Australian economy (ABS 2001). The mining and

petroleum industries continues to dominate export income, with years between 2000 and 2013 (with the exception of the GFC in 2008) reflecting the most significant and unprecedented “resources boom” taking investment in mining and trade to record levels (Gregory and Sheenan 2011, v).

Despite its booms and depressions since the late 1800s, the resources sector has remained a critical contributor to Australia’s economic foundations and infrastructure. It has been a major earner of export income (McKay *et al.* 2001), driving the expansion in the heavy engineering, housing and service industries (Tonts 2002). It has been a major factor in the emergence of towns, as infrastructure was established to service the mines and smelters, and also in bringing about technological advancement (McKay *et al.* 2001). As a consequence, there are unwavering political interests in resource expansion, particularly due to the long held belief that the continued expansion of the sector is important to protect the Australian economy from international recessions. “Resource-led recoveries” were recognised in the 1970s (Head 1984, 307), and continue to dominate political thinking after the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) in 2008. Furthermore, as the industry has brought much good, the conventional wisdom among political leaders is that “resource development has enormous direct benefits (and indirect linkages and multipliers) ... and they equally assume that what is good for their region is also good for the nation” (Head 1984, 325).

5.5 LNG: The New Force in Australia’s Resource Sector

For the most part of Australia’s historical resource development, global conditions had made the development of LNG commercially unviable (ABS 2001). However, in recent years, there has been growing interest in LNG, driving an unprecedented level of investment in Australia. This explosion of interest has, in part, been due to international factors supporting its commercial realisation and also strong support by the Federal Government for a resource-led recovery (after the GFC). As the former Federal Resources Minister Martin Ferguson explained: “LNG is one of our most prospective opportunities to buffer the economy in the near term and kick start a new boom in the medium to long term” (Ferguson 2009, n.p.). There

is also an aura of seductiveness surrounding LNG, as it is perceived as being a 'solution' to climate change. LNG is discursively touted as the new coal alternative, a source of clean energy, and critical for creating "Australia's low emission economy" (APPEA 2013, n.p.). This situation is creating a discursive platform, fostered by the oil and petroleum industry and the Australian Government, to promote continued exploration, processing and export.

In Insert 3, these industry discourses demonstrate how LNG is being seductively interwoven with sustainable economic development, strategies for poverty reduction and reducing global air pollution. The Federal Government and other government institutions are also central players in shaping this reality (see Insert 4). In combination, these statements construct a dominant paradigm that the continued exploitation of Australian LNG is imperative for global progress and climate stability, sidelining alternative views that discredit the 'clean energy' spin. For example, Greens Senator Scott Ludlam explains that a new analysis of publicly available industry figures reveals "a massive expansion in Australian greenhouse gas emissions within six years if all proposed new LNG projects go ahead" (Lester 2010, n.p.). One must conclude that clean energy discourses are 'murky'.

Australian Petroleum and Production Exploration Association (APPEA)

“Growth in Australian natural gas exports to the Asia-Pacific region is unequivocally good news for energy security reducing greenhouse gas emissions and reducing air pollution” (Robinson 2009, 3).

“The Asia-Pacific Gas Market Growth Project makes a major contribution to the overall objectives of the APPEA – to promote energy security, a reduction in national air pollution and climate change in ways that promote sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction” (Robinson 2009, 3).

“Imagine the difference to global greenhouse gas emissions if more of this electricity was sourced from Australian LNG” (Lester 2010, n.p.).

Michael Chaney, Chairman of Woodside Energy

“It is “extremely important” that LNG be recognised as a clean fuel that could help reduce global emissions” (Woodside Shareholder Meeting cited in Burrell and Maher 2011, n.p.).

Chevron Advertisement (Multinational Oil and Gas Company)

“And natural gas, the cleanest-burning conventional fuel ... helping to create a brighter future for all of us” (Chevron 2011, n.p.).

Insert 3: Industry Discourse around LNG

Federal Tourism and Resource Minister, Martin Ferguson

“One tonne of CO₂ produced in production of LNG in Australia saves four tonnes of CO₂ emissions in China compared to the use of a coal-fired power station. That speaks for itself” (Ferguson 2011, n.p.).

Northern Australia Land and Water Taskforce

“Australian LNG exports are enabling countries to access lower emissions gas fired electricity generation as they make the transitions to cleaner technologies such as renewable or carbon capture and storage” (Northern Australia Land and Water Taskforce Report 2009, vi).

Insert 4: Federal Government Discourse for LNG

Presently, there is continued interest in resource expansion across Australia, since, as Appendix 5 illustrates, all States and the Northern Territory are active

resource producers. Much of the interest in resource development (including agricultural and pastoral production) is focused on the resources at the peripheries of the nation, particularly in the north of Australia – northern WA, the Northern Territory and Queensland. These areas share a commonality of interests, climate, culture, landscapes and economy (North Australia Economic Development Forum 2008). For many years, there has been an explicitly and implicitly optimistic big picture vision created for the northern regions (Gerritsen 2010). Consequently, the globalised connectivity of these States carries considerable regional and local weight, and was a key force ‘in play’ during James Price Point case.

5.6 Northern Australia: A Spatial Imaginary

The northern regions of Australia have been the focus of aspirational development visions since the 1850s (Schneiders 2011). From about the 1960s, there has been an increased effort to bring these aspirations into reality (Kerr 1975). For example, throughout the 1960s and 1970s, several efforts were made: large sums of money were allocated to northern development, senior public officials were appointed in both the Federal and State Government departments for the purpose of developing solutions to the problems hampering development of the north, and focus groups were established to brainstorm ideas (Kerr 1975). The political vision for the north was inspired by the staples thesis, which suggested building an economy based on primary industries or ‘staples’, and led to the belief that Australia would gain a distinctive ‘development’ culture, and integration with the global economy via export and international capital flows (Gerritsen 2010). The result would be to absorb more labour and capital, and draw a larger inflow of people into the region, as witnessed in the south of Australia (Head 1982).

Northern Australia continues to be shaped as a commercially dictated regional space, valued *only* for its “productive resources of people, agricultural expanses, resources and water”, as noted by former Federal Member for Durack, Barry Haase (2010, n.p.). The quote below also demonstrates the way the north is shaped by discourses of development – wealth, opportunity, resources and expansion:

It is resource rich in minerals and primary industries, with proximity to Asian markets' ... 'It has a bountiful supply of water, a commodity to be cherished with the looming impact of climate change. Above all, it has the capacity for expansion. There abounds room for people, farming and industry (Northern Australia Economic Development Forum 2008, 5)

In recent years, at Federal and State/Territory levels, there have been numerous institutions, taskforces, and programs of government created to achieve this northern development vision (e.g. by the Office of the North West in WA and by the Northern Australia Land and Water Taskforce for Australia). There is also considerable funding to support northern development economic projects based on the belief that through government subsidy/stimulus large economic projects will come into fruition (Gerritsen 2006), as in the James Price Point case. Apart from desires for Australia's national prosperity, attention was increasingly focused on the productive potential of the population of the north: "it is important that we unlock the active, innovative and energetic contributions of the people who live and work in northern Australia ... and empower them to create opportunities for their own future" (North Australia Land and Water Taskforce 2009, iii).

By 2011, as explained within the Federal Government's *Northern Australia Ministerial Forum*, the so called 'real' economy, that is, the mining and pastoral economy, continued to overshadow the contribution and impact of other wealth generating sectors such as natural and cultural tourism and conservation in the north: "a particular focus on addressing the infrastructure and policy settings that will allow industries, including the beef and mining industries, to grow and prosper" (Northern Australia Ministerial Forum Joint Communiqué 2011, 2).

With significant economic potential, the north has gained more political and economic power over the last few decades (Stevenson 1979). Similarly, Head (1984) also noted that transnational corporations have gained increased leverage as a result of their close associations with the WA State Government developed through a shared vision for the north. As shown in the next section, WA has taken the north to new levels of economic and political significance.

5.7 Western Australia – The Construction of a Resource State

Despite the original perception of opportunity, WA grew very slowly during its first years after white colonialisation in 1827 (Government of Western Australia 2004). Early on, WA was conceived to have a significant agricultural and pastoral base (Government of Western Australia 2004; Tonts 2002) and there were strong political desires for intensive agriculture expansion (Tonts 2002). However, the harsh landscape, remoteness, inadequate labour, infrastructure, and scarcity of finance prevented solid industry and economic growth, creating economic hardship until the 1850s (Government of Western Australia 2004; Ye 2008). While other states in Australia were gaining economic and political significance, the distance and isolation became increasingly problematic for WA (Moon and Sharman 2003).

Three major developments occurred in shaping the state's economic advancement from the 1850s to the early 1900s: the introduction of convicts, the discovery of gold and Federation (Government of Western Australia 2004). With continued difficulties surrounding agricultural expansion (Tonts 2002), the discovery of gold in Halls Creek in the Kimberley in 1886, Southern Cross in 1888, Coolgardie in 1892 and Mt Charlotte in Kalgoorlie in 1893 were critical events in WA's history (Alexander 1988; Ye 2008). This initial exploration culminated in the famous gold rush of the 1890s, which accounted for about 61 per cent of total exports by 1901 (Government of Western Australia 2004). As a result, WA had unprecedented levels of economic and population growth, which led to a range of major capital projects facilitated by the state, including the introduction of railways and road networks to expedite mineral export, major water pipelines, the opening up of the Port of Fremantle as an export hub and other major capital works investments (Government of Western Australia 2004; Ye 2008). The gold rush was a catalyst for the expanded role of the state in the management of economic affairs (Alexander 1988; Head 1982; Woodall and Travis 1979).

Realising WA's susceptibility to the volatility in the international market due to gold, Sir John Forrest, WA's first Premier, re-initiated a plan for agricultural expansion. With the failure of private enterprise to stimulate small-scale agricultural development in the past (McMahon 2009; Tonts 2002), direct intervention was

considered essential and later proving successful (Appleyard 1981; Tonts 2002; Ye 2008). WA subsequently enjoyed unprecedented growth and prosperity, with the population rising almost 271 per cent between 1890 and the 1900s (Appleyard 1981).

After Federation in 1901, the new State Government continued to demonstrate aggressive agricultural expansion policies, with the aim of achieving economies of scale (Tonts 2002). This was done so with the expansion of railway networks, facilitating large-scale land-clearing and also through government-led advertising campaigns to the Eastern States (Appleyard 1981). For example, the WA State Government advertised “cheap land on the most liberal conditions” (Tonts 2002, 113) and recommended to buy from local suppliers (Harman 1982). This was identified by various scholars as the start of the WA State Government’s development ethos, where economic and population growth had become primary political priorities (see, for example: Harman and Head 1982; Head 1986; Kellow and Niemeyer 1999). To facilitate these developmental ideals, in 1917, a *Department of Industrial Development* was formed to encourage the local production of certain goods including food, footwear and clothing. This department would also become pivotal in the expansion of the state’s mineral resources (Moon and Sharman 2003). Government-driven development continued to be a characteristic of the 1920s, 1930s and post-World War II (Moon and Sharman 2003).

Between 1930 and up until the 1960s, the WA State Government’s *Department of Industrial Development* and the *Treasury* pursued a strategy of development and industrialisation, largely as a result of the perceived employment benefits and to protect the state’s rights from Federal interference (Bolton 1982; Layman 1982). For state governments with developmental ideals, such as WA, Northern Territory and Queensland, there has been a long history of Federal-State conflict regarding export controls, loaning schemes, tax concession and environmental regulations that impacted on the mining industry (Bell and Head 1994; Harman and Head 1982; Head 1986). Government involvement in such ventures as the Wundowie charcoal steel plant and the State Sawmills represented early efforts to take the state’s natural resources to higher levels of productivity (Appleyard 1981). The deal between the Anglo-Iranian Petroleum company (later

B.P.) and the Liberal Country Party Government in 1952, leading to the Kwinana Industrial complex¹⁷ was a significant strategic decision for the WA economy (Bolton 1982).

By the 1960s, the “doctrine of industrialisation” was firmly entrenched within the state’s political culture (Brown 2007, 26). With the appointment of the Liberal-National Coalition Party in 1959 under Sir David Brand as Premier, Sir Charles Court as the Minister for Industrial Development, and the views of a powerful engineer, R.J. Dumas of the Public Works department, this period became significant in WA’s political-economic development (Brown 2007). The goal of industrialisation was seen to be most effectively optimised through resource exploitation. Thus, there was a move to encourage international capital into WA, especially within the resources sector. This WA State Government also rejected government interference in industry, but considered government involvement critical, in the form of incentives to attract large-scale private projects (Bolton 1982). At the time, state political discourses were created around production targets, infrastructural provision and expansion emerging from big visions, regarded by Layman (1982, 235) as the new discourse of “bigness”. From this point forward, the resources sector was defined as the principal “vehicle for state-building” (Harman and Head 1982, 59) and WA was promoted increasingly as the “state of excitement” (Alexander 1988, 120).

This pervasive development ideology led to a second major resource boom during the late 1960s with Resource Minister Sir Charles Court being a key architect (Alexander 1988; Layman 1982; Ye 2008). In the North West, large deposits of iron ore were found in the Pilbara region, leading to the withdrawal of the Federal Government’s iron ore export embargo which had prevented the industry’s development since 1938 (Alexander 1988; Government of Western Australia 2004). In 1963, Dampier Island (subsequently renamed Burrup Peninsula in 1979) was also

¹⁷ Located approximately 40 km from Perth City, the Kwinana industrial complex consists of a highly diverse range of industries from smaller service industries, such as fabrication and construction facilities, through to large heavy process industries, such as alumina, nickel and oil refineries (Kwinana Industrial Council 2013).

considered for industrial development (Chapple 2007). Massive infrastructure that supported the exploitation of the industry was also being constructed (Bolton 1982; Ye 2008). Therefore, in the post war period, the North West was experiencing rapid growth and change (Kerr 1975), and WA became regarded as a major export earner and significant purchaser of manufactured goods from other Australian States (Harman 1982).

Premier Sir Richard Brand's and Resource Minister Sir Charles Court's principal aim during the 1960s and early 1970s was to promote the state as an investment region. Political interest in iron ore and gas reserves in the North West was high (Bambrick 1978; Harman and Head 1982; Layman 1982). Foreign investment soon played a critical role in the exploration and extraction of resources with multinational firms from Japan, America and Britain coming to invest in WA (Government of Western Australia 2004). The path toward economic and population growth intensified further with the election of Sir Charles Court as Premier in 1974 (Mayes 2007). Premier Court believed that industrial development equated to progress, population growth and productivity, vital for greater prosperity for the state (Layman 1982). With an alliance emerging between the Federal Liberal Fraser Government and Liberal Premier Charles Court, mining and agricultural industries expanded, leading to what became the third mining boom from the late 1970s to mid-1980s (Ye 2008).

This third wave of development was instrumental in providing direct economic benefits to the state, as well as underpinning the development of the service sector affiliated with the minerals industry (Ye 2008). Much of this third boom phase occurred in the North West of WA. There were significant diamond deposits identified in the Kimberley region (Ye 2008) and the gas reserves in the North West Shelf off the Pilbara coast in 1981 was an important national discovery (Bambrick 1978; Mayes 2007). In the industry agreement for the production of gas at the North West Shelf, the Federal Fraser Government, with the support of the WA State Government, agreed to a number of lucrative conditions, including the export of 50 per cent of the gas, tax allowances/exclusions, the broadening of eligible expenditure to include liquefaction plants, as well as a willingness to give long-term assurances that they will not suffer unfavourable political changes (Bambrick 1978).

Premier Court believed the conditions for profitable production needed to be first created by the state (Head 1982). This was reflected in the way Premier Court made frequent trips to Asia to encourage investment in the state's resources (Mayes 2007). Premier Court also believed it was the state's responsibility to control the direction of the industry and the state's development policy (Bolton 1982). These critical decisions tended to be made by technical professionals, particularly those within industrial development portfolios (Halligan and Power 1992; Kellow and Niemeyer 1999). However, this technical perspective failed to account for the importance of Aboriginal culture. As such, WA has a history of conflicts between resource development and local interests, with the conflict with the Noonkanbah Aboriginal community in 1978¹⁸ a particularly prominent example. Aboriginal land rights were secondary to development pursuits as Premier Court indicated::

It was of only secondary importance that sites involved with Aboriginal mythology were being affected by mining ... It is for this reason that the state government is spelling out its position now so that it is clear to all that it does not accept such claims and obstruction as valid reason to prevent mineral exploration (Thompson 1982, 291).

This style of political behaviour in WA represented something unique, and different to the minimalist ideology of laissez-faire capitalism and market liberalism believed to underpin much of the early stages of development in WA (Head 1982). Instead, WA's political-economic path reflected that of a substantially 'modified' laissez-faire capitalism (Head 1982). This was evidenced by the interdependence between the state and the economy, and the significant public investment to drive economic growth (Head 1982). A characteristic of Liberal governments in Australia prior to the 1980s was a traditional aversion to coordinating and directing forms of intervention (Head 1982). In WA however, the State had employed all four forms of

¹⁸ Noonkanbah is a pastoral station approximately 100 kilometres southwest of Fitzroy Crossing in the Kimberley that was given Aboriginal ownership in 1976. However, the site was also given a mining tenement for exploration of oil by American company, Amax Iron Ore Corporation. In 1978, Premier Charles Court actively facilitated the company to drill for oil on the sacred lands at Noonkanbah, recognised formally by the Museum of Western Australia, the government body also responsible for the WA Aboriginal Heritage Act 1972. This led to a significant conflict between landowners, the company and the State Government, and became an important discussion point in political debates about Aboriginal policy (Ritter 2002).

intervention identified by Head (1982): facilitative, supportive, coordinating and directive.¹⁹

During 1983 to 1988, the development ideology and the tradition of state-industry support were re-configured under the leadership of new Premier Brian Burke and the Labor State Government (Gallop 1997). This was the beginning of an entrepreneurial culture. Due to a belief that the local capital market needed additional assistance and the WA State Government required new sources of revenue, a new period emerged known as the WA Inc. era, with a prevailing closed economy based on private investments and knowledge sharing (Gallop 1997). In the WA Inc. era, older financial institutional players (R & I Bank, State Government Insurance Commission and the Government Employees Superannuation Fund) were encouraged to play more entrepreneurial/business-like roles to achieve higher rates of return. New financial institutions were developed to encourage economic development by direct investment, with the Western Australian Development Corporation being a notable example (Gallop 1997).

At the time, this style of government was almost universally applauded, and it culminated in “business and government working hand in glove” (Interview with local Broome resident), partnerships which ultimately ended badly in the form of the WA Inc. scandal. This style of government created the impression that the business of government was business – seen to be a necessary condition to create a different

¹⁹ Head (1982, 48 — 51) identifies four different forms of state intervention:

Facilitative: policies that seek to maintain/create the minimal conditions for economic activity. This includes legal codes for regulating property, the right to buy and sell, standardisation of units of exchange and ensuring the availability of transport and communication facilities.

Supportive: ensures the supplies of productive inputs for the economy and the needs of specific industries. This may be in the form of labour (wages, housing); land and natural resources: cheap land for industry, conditions governing prospects for mineral production, land rights for native people; public investment in energy utilities and infrastructures, tariffs, subsidies, grants and tax concessions.

Coordinating: those policies that attempt to achieve both a high degree of planning and integration or accommodation among the major economic forces and community interest groups. This has given rise to negotiation, consultation and participation duties, sometimes in the form of establishing procedures and institutions for integrating the diverse interests of environmental protection, price and income policies, industrial relations in strategic industries or development of economic disparities in regions.

Directive: highly developed form of state control on supervision and economic management. This includes different public institutions in providing commercial services and the production and distribution of strategic commodities.

economy (Gallop 1997) – which set the scene for a yet more active government role in economic development. An interviewee captured the historically constituted playing field in WA:

You need to understand WA's history. You need to go right back to the 1890s to understand the culture of WA government. You need to understand what led to the WA Inc. This is all part of the culture of Western Australia ... When Brian Burke came to government, he bought to government a group of business people and said 'let's work together' and so out of that came the WADC, WA Development Commission, the institutional players who were involved in the WA Inc. story, and it was about business and government working hand in glove so WA could be a different economy (Interview with local Broome resident).

From the early 1980s, the interest in resource activity in WA continued, yet there was a softening of demand, particularly within oil and gas markets (Harman 1982). The industry was also becoming increasingly susceptible to a combination of local and international events: inflationary pressure, unemployment, increased competition from capital, increasing pressures from the environmental movement and localised land conflicts (Harman 1982). As witnessed elsewhere in Australia, the strategy of economic rationalisation of the Australian public sector had transformed the political apparatus in WA. The resulting wave of neoliberal policies meant, for the resource regions such as the North West, less government regulation, preferring instead that market forces provide solutions to externality problems (Pick *et al.* 2008). This neoliberal influence in WA also led to a justification for giant projects, high technology and a corporate partnership between the state and capital (Langton 2010). It also manifested in mining companies performing the function of governments, delivering services and ensuring law and order achieved by way of legislation (directly), and budget cuts (indirectly) (Langton 2010).

Therefore, WA became a reflection of other international resource-rich regions, concurrent with the Western world's convergence toward economic (neoliberal) rationalisation but also displaying its own unique constructions. However, with the prevailing development ideologies of the state and private sector closely aligned, resource development has long given priority over other objectives – including labour, Aboriginal people and heritage, communities and environmental protection (Harman and Head 1982; Langton 2010; Langton and Mazel 2008).

Discourses to justify economic growth in the name of ‘community interest’ were common (Harman and Head 1982), which reflected the partnership between state and capital, joining economic growth and public interest²⁰ (Head 1982). Thus, the pro-business culture continued to create unbalanced development, environmental degradation and Aboriginal land rights abuses; scenarios that contributed to the Greens Party raising its prominence in more recent times (McMahon 2009). These politico-economic conditions paved the way for another mining boom from 2003, the most significant in WA’s history (Ye 2008).

5.8 WA Liberal-National Government and a New Global Imagination of the Market

Premier Colin Barnett of the Liberal-National Government was elected in 2008. Previously, he had been Resources Minister in Premier Richard Court’s Government (1993-2001), which had overseen the introduction of punitive workplace legislation and a failed attempt to abolish Native Title rights in WA (Burnside 2010). In a media statement, Premier Barnett reflected upon the legacy of his Liberal-National predecessors, and showed how he aimed to continue in their footsteps:

The reality is that major new resource developments in our State have been driven by vision, planning and hard work of the Brand and successive Court Liberal Governments. Today, the Liberal-National Government continues that vision (Barnett 2008a, n.p.).

The vision of the Liberal-National Government for WA is to be a “leading mining economy” (Government of Western Australia 2010, 2), “the world’s biggest resource industry state or economy” (The Daily Review 2011, 1), and “a world leader in resources exploration and production” (Moore 2010a). As a consequence, this has given the perception of “a blatant growth agenda” (Interview with Greens MP). There appears to also be an economic model in mind, which stems from an

²⁰ This partnership between economic growth and community interest will be re-addressed in the discussion, as it continues to play a role in contemporary constructions.

overriding “economic orthodoxy that says you have to just keep growing at 3 to 4 per cent to maintain healthy economic growth” (Interview with WA Greens MP). This translates into the “doubling of the economy, twice as aggressive, every 25 years” (Interview with WA Greens MP). The government discourse is structured around harnessing the opportunities presented by the resources sector.

Apparently, the conservative government believes that the production and expansion of the resources sector is underpinned by the “trickledown effect”, rather than the interventionist effect, as noted below:

They adhere to the belief that somehow you get benefits for the person at the bottom, facilitated by the APEX predators, and hopefully the scraps which trickle down the food chain. This is very much what the neo-conservative governments are about (Interview with WA Labor MP).

In recent years, the oil and gas industry has been the key ‘mover and shaker’ of the resources sector, with a series of multi-billion dollar projects being approved, including Chevron’s \$45 billion Gorgon and \$30 billion Wheatstone projects, and Woodside’s \$5 billion Prelude and \$12 billion Pluto projects (McMahon 2009). Along with the Browse Basin fields in the Kimberley, these projects have elevated WA to the second most prominent gas provider in the world following Quebec (Briggs 2010). Natural gas is currently perceived as the “biggest game in town” (Government of Western Australia 2010, 18), and government discourses suggest that the oil and gas industry is critical to WA’s future, and the political resolve exists to achieve these ends (See Insert 5):

Former WA Liberal Resource Minister Norman Moore

“The State Government was focused on further enhancing WA’s oil and gas industry ... The State Government wants to continue to improve WA’s international oil and gas reputation by streamlining approvals processes for the petroleum and mining industry” (Moore 2010b, n.p.).

Premier Barnett

“Western Australia has a policy of using natural gas as a clean energy source” (Government of Australia 2010, 29).

Liberal MP Mike Nahan

“Western Australia’s economic future is inexorably tied to the development and use of the State’s large reserves of natural gas” (Hansard Assembly 2011a, 1).

Insert 5: Government Discourse surrounding LNG

To bring these ‘big’ resource visions into alignment, the system is facilitated by government technologies that are swayed toward economic development and corporate interests, over societal and environmental ones. WA State Premiers have been renowned for their keenness to promote the state to respective business people (Harman and Head 1982; Head 1986; Layman 1982). For example, in a statement made to an Australian Petroleum Production and Exploration Association (APPEA) function, the Premier reiterated the position taken by former WA State Governments with regard to foreign investment: “This is a very open country to foreign investment. The access that international business has into this market is not matched anywhere else in the world” (The Daily Review 2011, 1). In addition, he indicates how ‘good’ the deal is for multinational corporations investing in WA: “There are no state oil and no state petroleum companies, no production sharing arrangements in place. You might argue about the tax treatment and I might be on your side there. But basically this is a good deal and you know it” (The Daily Review 2011, 1).

In late 2008, the WA State Government initiated a suite of legislative changes that would help “deliver more decisions, more quickly for the betterment of

the State's future" (Barnett 2009a, n.p.), generating the perception that this was "code for fast-tracking" (Interview with Greens MP Responding to calls by industry for more clarity, confidence and certainty of project approvals,²¹ this Government restructured resource governance with the intention of removing regulatory burden, streamlining, and providing leadership (Department of State Development 2013). In these changes, the former *Department of Industry and Resources* (DOIR) was replaced with two new departments that would coordinate resource development – the *Department of State Development* (DSD) and the *Department of Mines and Petroleum* (DMP).

The DSD is pro-development with the principal aim to "ensure WA's economic security through leading, attracting and facilitating major wealth creating private projects and assist with the development of economic strategies and strategic policy coordination geared toward promoting investment" (Barnett 2008b, n.p.). The Premier refers to the DSD's role as working "in partnership with industry" to "ensure vital priorities are achieved" (Department of State Development 2013, n.p.). Critically, the DSD has assumed responsibility for developing and coordinating state projects, managing the Federal and State approvals processes with other government departments and ministries, negotiating State Agreements between development proponents and the State Government,²² and focussing on the activities that deliver the highest direct value to their 'clients' (i.e. industry) (Department of State Development 2013). DSD was also coordinating the James Price Point LNG precinct, including the social, Aboriginal and environmental approval processes.

²¹ The mining approvals process has been criticised for being too costly with calls to remove red tape, streamline and fast track approval processes for mining applications (Government of Western Australia 2009). For example, the Institute of Public Affairs (IPA) criticised how "Western Australian parliamentarians and government officials add more and more economic, social and environmental burdens upon business and individuals" (Novak 2009, n.p.). Similarly, the influential Mannkal Economic Education Foundation (a foundation committed to liberalism) has also entered the debate and been overly critical, exposing the hidden costs of regulation and regulatory complexity as a major restraint on growth (IPA 2009). The leading industry group for Minerals and Energy in WA (CME) has also made regulatory reform one of its major objectives (Chamber of Minerals and Energy (CME) 2013).

²² The 'prestigious' *State Agreement Acts* outline the requirements and mutual responsibilities or 'corporate responsibilities' of resource companies to Western Australia (Government of Western Australia 2010). Importantly, these State Agreements are so powerful they can override the provisions outlined in other acts, such as, those about planning or mining.

Interestingly, in continuing the Premier's "strong pro-development policy" as leader of the State Government (Barnett 2013, n.p.), and elevating the State Government's role to 'precinct proponent' for the LNG precinct at James Price Point, he has also "made investment and major project success [his] direct responsibility" (Department of State Development 2013, n.p.).

In addition to streamlining approvals processes,²³ a more efficient governance framework currently involves achieving "quick turnarounds" for mining applications, commitments that certainly show features of neoliberalism (Moore 2010c). The framework emphasises continuous improvement across all the departments involved in mining approvals. Similarly, there is a focus on performance, with the establishment of internal benchmarks, and with consultation with industry proponents on the DMP's turnaround performance. Reflecting the State Government's commitment to mining approvals, the position of "Director General Mining Approvals" within DMP has also been created (Moore 2010c, n.p.). As the mining approvals process is shaped by performance, continuous improvement and the need for approval by industry, it appears that less attention is being given to their quality or adequacy. These time-based indicators also put pressure on the system, and expose critical weaknesses, especially, when these prompt turnarounds are also expected within key CSR areas such as environmental management. As a senior government official experienced while working at the Department of Environment and Conservation: "There was just this huge pressure to smash out these management plans,²⁴ approve these management plans ... The Minister for Environment would be under pressure to approve, I want this done, I want this done quickly, the Premier wants this done" (Interview with senior government official).

As the section on WA's historical context demonstrated, this commitment to development shown by the Liberal-National Government is entrenched. As a

²³ This will be discussed in more detail in the context of environmental protection in Chapter 6.

²⁴ In WA, often, as a condition of approval, companies must produce environmental management plans.

consequence, the relationship between industry and the WA State Government has been a long, productive and harmonious one:

It is true today as it was then, there is a lot of opportunity to get with the State Government, and present your particular positions or views ... There is always the opportunity for the resource industry to be able to speak with the Government, more so than any other group” (Interview with industry representative).

In particular, the Premier announced at an industry function that “the WA Government had a ‘close and special’ relationship with Woodside” (The Daily Review 2011, 1), and the Woodside’s former CEO Don Voelte applauded this support: “It’s no secret, I am a very big supporter of Premier Colin Barnett” (Quinn 2011, n.p.). Speaking about the potential take-over of Woodside, the Premier said “keep your hands off Woodside ... you would lose a closeness to the governmental that you would probably not be able to recreate ... Woodside is the company that the WA Government deals most with. It represents its own interests and it also represents your interests as well” (The Daily Review 2011, 1). Given this closeness, the WA State Government is often perceived negatively as siding with the interests of the mining companies over others:

I think we have created an environment here that is a bit like the Wild West, like some tin pot country in West Africa. Our State Government is prepared to aid and abet them [the mining industry] if you like, by assisting them to fight Native Title claimants ... and side with the mining companies to fight against the citizens, over the extraction of resources from our own land. That is remarkable, and they do it with total impunity (Interview with senior government official).

Within this system of governance, it seems little can escape the dominance of the economic and development agenda, making a discussion about CSR an interesting one. Much of this resource development agenda is spatially constituted. In the next section, the Pilbara and Kimberley regions as spatial constructions will be explored.

5.9 The Spatialisation and Territorialisation of the Pilbara and Kimberley

The North West of WA contains two administrative regions: Pilbara and Kimberley, with land areas of 507,896 m² and 424,000 m² respectively. The two regions share many physical, environmental, demographic, social and economic characteristics (Kerr 1975). Both are rich in natural resources with their exploration underpinning both economies, albeit on a much grander scale in the Pilbara. The Pilbara is often described as “the engine room of the nation” due to its contribution to national wealth, and is also the premier mining region in WA (Regional Development Australia 2012, 42).

The prevailing development ethos in WA has shaped the Pilbara landscapes since the 1960s (Edmunds 1989). Most particularly, in the way mining towns in regional areas have been constructed by mining companies to serve surrounding mines for rapid and large-scale resource exploitation (Edmunds 1989). This ethos has also been demonstrated in the way heavy industry was given State Government approval to risk disturbing and damaging significant cultural and ecological sites. There is, for instance, considerable research evidence to suggest that the Dampier Archipelago and the Burrup Peninsula in the Pilbara have the largest collection of what some observers suggest, is the oldest rock art (30,000 years old) in the world (Donaldson 2011; McDonald and Veth 2009). It is also the site for the North West Shelf LNG processing precinct²⁵ and other heavy industry. The 2009 approval of the \$46 billion dollar Gorgon LNG precinct on Barrow Island, a class A nature reserve off the Pilbara coast, suggests that the “state ethos” continues to be influenced by these “muscular frontier values” (Davidson 2011, 1).²⁶

²⁵ Woodside and Joint Venture are partners in a \$27 billion dollar project, representing 40 per cent of the Australia’s oil and gas production, 65 per cent of WA’s gas production and 1 per cent of Australia’s GDP (North West Shelf Venture 2010).

²⁶ Barrow Island is located approximately 56 km off the Northern Coast of WA. Barrow Island became a public reserve for flora and fauna in 1908, a classification that was upgraded to ‘class A’ Nature Reserve by 1910 (Chevron 2010). While this is the highest level of protection that can be granted, it is not a rating, and often reflects the fact that no-one wanted to develop the area at the time.

If the WA State Government's developmental reports are an indication, the Kimberley is being touted as the next great mining region, with some of the largest deposits of gas, coal, uranium and bauxite reserves in the world (Carney 2012). With a recent report indicating that 80 per cent of the Kimberley is now under exploration lease (Carney 2012), evidence is given to the claims by chief negotiator for the Kimberley Land Council (KLC) for the James Price Point case, Wayne Bergmann, that "all indications [are that] Government want to blow it up, dig it up, drill it up, pump it, send it, and sell it overseas" (in Carney 2012, n.p.).

The desired vision of the Premier points to an 'Industrial Kimberley' where "the Pilbara has supported WA for the last 50 years and the Kimberley will support WA for the next 50 years" (Nolan 2009, n.p.). The Premier has aspirations to transform Broome into the "Dubai of the Southern Hemisphere" (Lloyd 2011a, n.p.). It is a vision that was also outlined by Deputy Director of the DSD, Anne Nolan, where the Kimberley is regarded as the "Next Frontier" capable of considerable resource development (Nolan 2009, n.p.). These are the most recent examples of a long-held interest in the economic constitution of the Kimberley by successive WA State Governments.

As early as 1863, the WA State Government began facilitating economic development in the Kimberley by providing incentives including free land and lease arrangements for Europeans to settle there²⁷ (Department of Environment 2012). Mining activity in the Kimberley has occurred mainly in the Eastern Kimberley area but also in some western coastal areas. For more than 50 years, there has been iron ore mining on Cockatoo and Koolan Islands, off the Kimberley coast north of Derby, and diamond discoveries were made around Lake Argyle in the late 1970s

Nevertheless, there is still considerable evidence to suggest the region has a high flora and fauna value. In September 2009, the \$46 billion dollar Gorgon Joint Venture was given environmental approval for construction of a LNG precinct on the island.

²⁷ Despite these early attempts, the Kimberley failed to attract people. It was only after Alexander Forrest's official expedition in 1878 in the pursuit of fertile land and gold that investor interest in the Kimberley increased. His report illustrated favourable conditions in the Kimberley, and alongside political promotion and support, as well as broader international and national political-economic circumstances, European miners and pastoralists became attracted to the opportunities presented in the Kimberley (Department of Environment 2012).

(production commenced in 1985). In the early 1970s, Woodside and other oil and gas multinationals made significant discoveries of gas and condensate at Scott Reef, 400 km north of Broome within the Browse Basin Gas field. However, difficulties with physical access, infrastructure shortcomings and resistance to mining by Aboriginal people have prevented large-scale industrialisation of the Kimberley (Acil Tasman and Worley Parsons 2005; Langton 2010). Instead, cultural, conservation, tourism, pearling and agricultural uses have dominated the economic landscape.

Government interest in the Kimberley's economic potential intensified in 1996 when the Regional Minerals Program (RMP) was established through a partnership between the Federal Government and WA, Northern Territory, Queensland State Governments and the resources sector. The aim of this partnership was "to facilitate the development of mining and mineral processing activities (including petroleum), and to promote regional employment opportunities" in the Kimberley (Regional Minerals Program (RMP) 1996, 1). The Kimberley was highlighted for its growth potential, and it was the role of the then WA "Department of Industry and Resources (DIR) to open up the vast Kimberley region to encourage the development of regional industries" (RMP 1996, 1). The DSD is now charged with this responsibility, and the James Price Point case is the contemporary manifestation of these desires.

The partnership sought to undertake a study to understand the resource potential of the Kimberley²⁸ and optimise the "significant resource development", "including the West Kimberley oil and diamond fields, the Lennard Shelf lead/zinc mines and the Mitchell Plateau bauxite deposits, in addition to the offshore Browse Basin gas fields" (RMP 1996, 1). Specifically, there was interest surrounding the Browse Basin gas field, and the vision identified the creation of "hubs for gas and minerals based processing on the Kimberley coastline" (RMP 1996, 6) as a "stimulus

²⁸ The objective of this study was to identify strategic infrastructure and services required to develop the petroleum and mineral resources of the West Kimberley area. In the study's considerations, it also identified the need to "examine the impacts on other potential interests, for example, environmental, tourism and Aboriginal/Native Title" (RMP 1996, 6).

to resource activity” (RMP 1996, 4). The governmental vision was projected at constructing the Kimberley as “similar in magnitude to industrial centres in the Pilbara region” (RMP 1996, 1), with particular focus on the West Kimberley coastline. This coastline – the location of the LNG precinct – was considered to have “the potential to rival the Burrup Peninsula in gas-based processing, in addition to the potential for extensive development throughout the region for a range of mineral and petroleum commodities” (RMP 1996, 6). The RMP report concluded that “the opportunity cost to industry, the State and the Nation in not developing this gas is considerable” (RMP 1996, 3) and detailed a list of economic justifications, including international competitiveness, diversification of the region's skills and economic promotion of the Kimberley and market competitiveness for gas suppliers (RMP 1996, 3).

Ironically, the way Aboriginal people in the Kimberley are discursively touted as the main reason for the LNG precinct today, is not anticipated in the RMP report, however, there has been “structural and systematic opposition by all Governments to the recognition of Native Title” (Dodson 2010, 15). This has been particularly the case in the recent history of WA, where land rights and consultation with Aboriginal people have been a perceived burden that would retard economic advancement and become an unjust entitlement resulting in legal and financial costs (Langton 2010). The RMP (1996) report was circulated among industry, industry bodies, regulatory agencies and development commissions, but excluding tourism, environmental and Aboriginal organisations.²⁹ Thus, the evolution of the James Price Point case reflected a vision that was initially inspired by the Federal Government, supported by industry and given unconditional support by the WA State Government.

In 2002, under Geoff Gallop’s Labor Government (2001-2008), the *Department of Industry and Resources* commissioned the East Kimberley Regional

²⁹ The Chamber of Minerals and Energy WA, The Chamber of Commerce and Industry WA, the Australian Petroleum Production & Exploration Association, Woodside Energy, Kimberley Oil, INPEX Ltd, Rio Tinto, Epic Energy, Santos Ltd, Mermaid Marine, Broome Port, Shire of Broome, Shire of Derby-West Kimberley, the Department for Planning and Infrastructure and the Kimberley Development Commission

Minerals Study to assess the growth potential for exploration and mining in the East Kimberley. The report specified the need for the WA State Government to actively assist in the planning and facilitation of future projects. In 2005, consultants ACIL Tasman and Worsley Parson were also engaged to explore the resource potential of the West Kimberley. The *Developing the West Kimberley's Resources* report pointed to the way the State and Federal Governments “have taken a close interest in the future development of the Browse Basin gas fields” for reasons related to “new LNG production for export” and the need to “provide energy for development of the significant mineral wealth of the region, with downstream processing” (Acil Tasman and Worsley Parson 2005, xiii).

The way the *Developing the West Kimberley's Resources* report places heightened emphasis on bringing gas onshore at a “strategically located gas processing hub” (Acil Tasman and Worsley Parsons 2005, xix) shows how the Kimberley found itself implicated in a grand political imagination. In particular, the James Price Point case was the outcome of two principal WA State Government imperatives: the dream of value-adding and the industrialisation of the Kimberley, as the Premier stated in a speech to investors in the United States in 2010 (Government of Western Australia 2010). For example, he described how it was necessary to create profitable conditions through the construction of a “world class industrial site” and “the availability of reliable and competitively priced energy. After all, the further processing of minerals is energy intensive” (Government of Western Australia 2010, 14-15). These views were reiterated beyond the sphere of government when a Minerals and Energy Spokesperson also indicated the LNG precinct would be “very much the cornerstone of the resurgence of the West Kimberley. We see the Browse projects as a once-in-a-generation opportunity for the West Kimberley community in terms of bringing a whole host of new industrial development” (Fitzsimmons 2008, n.p.). Tracing the James Price Point case back to long held-political ambitions, provides crucial context to demonstrate the way that CSR is constructed and experienced on the ground, and this will be further elaborated in Chapters 6 and 7.

5.10 Chapter Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to make a critical assessment of the system that surrounds the James Price Point case, developing an understanding of the forces integral to its construction, and of the way it is experienced on the ground. This system is made up governmental rationalities, technologies and spatial imaginaries. Most influentially, WA demonstrates a long-held persuasive development ideology that shapes the way the State Government privileges economic and commercial interests over social, environmental, and cultural ones. There are specific instruments used to this effect: new institutional arrangements, a close relationship between government and industry, and an active role in the economic management of the state's resources. Spatially, the Kimberley, and especially the West Kimberley coastline, are entwined with a grand imagination which underpins the James Price Point case.

This chapter played an important sense-making role by providing insight into some of the vast array of forces and relations existing to converge upon and define a particular space-time arrangement, in this instance, the James Price Point case. While this chapter highlighted the significance of the development ideology, as well as neoliberal and frontier values shaping the CSR space, it also identified some key themes that characterise resources development discourse in WA.

These themes represent critical factors in the way that CSR is promoted. Table 7 summarises these factors, showing how fields-of-power relations seem to privilege economic interests over others – particularly, in this instance, over *Aboriginal development* and *environmental protection*, illustrating this with quotes. Chapters 6 and 7 will further demonstrate how these themes were drawn upon in the debates surrounding the James Price Point case.

Table 7: Summary of key CSR themes

Key CSR Themes	Findings	Illustrative Quotes
Aboriginal Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic benefits significantly outweighing cultural costs, leading to a history of land rights abuses in WA 	<p>“It was of only secondary importance that sites involved with Aboriginal mythology were being affected by mining ... It is for this reason that the state government is spelling out its position now so that it is clear to all that it does not accept such claims and obstruction as valid reason to prevent mineral exploration” (Former WA Premier Sir Charles Court, in Thompson 1982, 291)</p>
Environmental Protection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic benefits significantly outweighing environmental protection, leading to environmental degradation • LNG has influentially and systematically emerged as a “clean energy source” in line with discourses of climate change 	<p>“Western Australia has a policy of using natural gas as a clean energy source” (WA Energy Minister, Mike Nahan, in Government of Australia 2010, 29)</p>

CHAPTER 6 THE FRAMING OF CSR

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter delivered insights into the system that surrounds the James Price Point case, and the contributing socio-political, historical and economic forces at global, national, state, regional and local scales. Chapter 5 described how a suite of instruments or technologies of power, at both Federal and State levels, maintains a system that privileges economic interests over others. The present chapter continues to make sense of the underlying governmental rationalities, technologies and spatial imaginaries, illustrating these through some key CSR factors identified within the case. Therefore, attention is directed to the way dominant rationalities underpin these CSR themes, and the instruments that support these dominant frames whilst devaluing the influence of others are explored. In demonstrating the relevance of spatiality here, the aim is to also show how actors strategically use absolute, relative and relational framings of space.

In the analysis of Australia's and Western Australia's politico-economic context in Chapter 5, two prominent CSR analytical themes were identified, specifically *Aboriginal development* and *environmental protection*. This chapter will also critically assess these two critical CSR factors as they are found to manifest strongly within the James Price Point case. This is in keeping with how the development proposal at James Price Point has been framed by WA's Premier: "in developing this resource, the Government will not compromise on environmental standards, good planning, high standards of safety or benefits to the Aboriginal community" (Towie 2010, n.p.).

This chapter will also critically assess another important CSR factor that has been omitted from the WA Premier's framing above but which has also emerged repeatedly in the interviews and debates surrounding the James Price Point case – *social cohesion*. While the chapter is structured around these three CSR themes, they are interconnected issues, and have been included to provide analytical coherence. Moreover, the varying weightings given to these analytical themes reflect the attention they received within the political domain.

6.2 Framing of CSR: Aboriginal Development

Aboriginal development is identified as a critical CSR factor in the case. This emerges from the way Aboriginal people feature as central actors in the negotiations and within surrounding CSR discourses. Therefore, this section analyses the way Aboriginal development was used strategically by various CSR actors. The section further seeks to reveal the rationalities that underlie the CSR discourses and associated strategies.

6.2.1 The Kimberley: A ‘Dispositional Problem Space’

The previous chapter demonstrated a particular spatial framing of northern Australia generally, and the Kimberley more specifically, whose intention is to enhance the productive capacity of its people and its grand vision of being a global resource region similar in scale to the Pilbara. However, these governmental aspirations are now being concealed through a new spatial frame, one that also seems to be an effective instrument of government, and presumably adopted to reduce community opposition and gain broader public support. Since the increased controversy surrounding the James Price Point case, the Kimberley is now being framed by the State Government and industry, with the support of media, as a “disposition problem space”, a space of disorder, drunkenness and chaos, which is seen to produce social problems of disease, death and poverty (Huxley 2006, 774).

There is a wider context in which the health, employment and welfare status of Aboriginal – as compared to non-Aboriginal Australians – has been consistently emphasised within the *Aboriginal Employment Development Policy* in 1987, the *Productivity Commission’s Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage* in 2005 (Altman *et al.* 2006), and most recently the former Commonwealth Government’s *Closing the Gap* policy initiative in 2007. However, examination of newspaper articles and government press releases at the peak of the controversy (2010-2011) demonstrates a disproportionate level of attention directed at Aboriginal people in the Kimberley. For example, Rothwell’s (2011) article, “Living hard, dying young in the Kimberley”, published in Australia’s mainstream newspaper *The Australian*, effectively frames the Kimberley as a dispositional problem space. The article

presents the view that these social circumstances are region-specific, as though these complicated issues are not experienced in Aboriginal communities throughout Australia. Moreover, the reality presented is one needing urgent attention and drastic action. In highly negative, dramatic and judgemental language, Rothwell (2011, n.p.) explains:

Another dreadful death in the Kimberley Aboriginal world, another with alcohol involved. Another piece in the interlocking jigsaw of grief, reaction and self destructive behaviour that has shadowed the entire Kimberley throughout the past wet season. The recent suicide statistics for the region are terrifying; they gravely understate the social disaster's true scale. Violence, alcohol, drug-taking and self-harm all form part of a pattern of behaviour among the young indigenous population in the wide belt of country that runs from Broome along the highway to Wyndham in the north.

Barbara McGillivray, chairperson of the FATSILC, the national peak body for community-based Aboriginal language, similarly considers these framings in Rothwell's argument problematic:

Rothwell highlights the suicide, alcohol, drugs, violence and self-harm crisis amongst the Indigenous community located within the Kimberley area. This is a long, complicated and continuing problem experienced in the majority of Aboriginal communities throughout Australia" (McGillivray 2011, n.p.).

At the same time, several articles have also highlighted the failure of government programs to improve Aboriginal wellbeing (e.g. *The Sydney Morning Herald* 2011; *The Age* 2011), further contributing to a 'problem space' in the way governments have so far managed Aboriginal communities (i.e. through welfare programs).³⁰ Similarly, during an interview with a Liberal politician, this 'problem space' was referred to: "you need to see it in a very broad context. The population in the Kimberley is about 40-50 per cent Aboriginal and as you know there are social problems, alcohol, sexual and physical abuse and all of that arises from the sense of

³⁰ These articles show that over the years, a significant number of studies and inquiries have highlighted continuing social problems in Aboriginal communities despite government-led programs. An internal government report commissioned by the former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd indicated that the \$3.5 billion dollars a year that had been devoted to 232 programs to support Aboriginal people, had been ineffective (Wright 2011).

hopelessness” (Interview with WA Liberal MP). Indeed, Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory were framed using the same spatial instrument before the ‘Northern Territory Intervention’³¹ by the Federal Government in 2006 (Brown and Brown 2007).

In the James Price Point case, these constructions played an important role in rendering problems “visible, knowable and manageable” (Huxley 2008, 1646); they were strategically used by the Premier in justifying the need for solutions, and in particular, different approaches (i.e. change):

Nothing puts the need for action more starkly into context than weekend media reports about the failure of so many welfare-driven programs or the totally unacceptable levels of suicide in many of our remote communities. It is time to do things differently (Hansard Assembly 2011b, 1)

In the same way, chief negotiator for the KLC, Wayne Bergmann, also calls for a different approach:

Once he was an illiterate Kimberley kid, drinking too much and getting in trouble with the law. His home life was dire to say the least. Before his mother's boyfriend eventually hanged himself, Bergmann says 'I remember him sitting on her bashing her in the kitchen where I grabbed the kitchen butcher knife and was about to stab him ... We've got to break these cycles and if it means compromising on some of the things and finding a balance with development ... We've got to try something different (Collins 2011a, n.p.).

Therefore, this public commentary encouraged the “seeds of change to be sown” (Brown and Brown 2007, 622), change that required a greater focus on personal responsibility, economic empowerment, self-determination and ending welfare dependency, through the provision of jobs and opportunities from the LNG precinct. These are the hallmarks of neoliberal discourse.

³¹ As a result of damning reports of the high instances of child sexual abuse and neglect among Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory, in 2007, the Commonwealth Government under Prime Minister John Howard intervened with a suite of legislative responses aimed at addressing the social problems (Brown and Brown 2007).

6.2.2 Aboriginal People in the Kimberley: A Neoliberal Solution

Aboriginal policy has long been a problematic issue (Clark and Stewart 1997; Rittel and Webber 1973) for government policy makers. The policy is particularly complex with no obvious solution, and requires new ways of thinking, doing and acting. Further, there continues to be little agreement on what the ‘issue’ among Aboriginal communities actually is. In the James Price Point case, there are some dominant and less-so significant discourses presented as solutions for Aboriginal development. Wayne Bergmann, the chief negotiator for the KLC, often refers to a world “where he and many of his generation could hardly spell or write”, yet he became “a lawyer” (Carney 2008a, n.p.). The reality he presents is one where it is possible to be culturally connected and also embedded within the modern economy; and in doing so, reinforcing the neoliberal principle of personal responsibility. Bergmann has since been nominated for the *WA Citizen of the Year Award* for his “pivotal role in the economic empowerment of Indigenous people” (Broome Advertiser 2011, 3). This occurred just as the WA Aboriginal Affairs Minister Peter Collier made the call for “role models in their communities needed to be put on pedestals to highlight their achievements” (Broome Advertiser 2011, 4).

During a participant interview, it was noted that “the current Premier has some particular interests in seeing companies strongly support Aboriginal people, particularly Traditional Owners to present real opportunities for them” (Interview with senior government official). This quote demonstrates neoliberal values operating within the ‘problem space’ of Aboriginal development in the Kimberley; firstly, in the retraction of government services and greater involvement required by mining companies, and secondly, in the provision of jobs, training and other economic opportunities. In this way, Bergmann and the Premier share similar neoliberal beliefs.

As Bergmann was the former CEO of the KLC, there was a dominant ‘Wayne Bergmann discourse’ circulating within the Kimberley, which reflected that of the ever controversial Noel Pearson, the Aboriginal leader, academic, lawyer, opinion writer for *The Australian* newspaper, author and Director of the Cape York Institute. Few would disagree with Pearson’s influence on the public policy

landscape, and in fact, many saw him as having a disproportionate and inappropriate level of influence (Flanagan 2009). As an example, a local participant hinted at his controversial level of influence:

Noel Pearson is the most influential person in the country in terms of Aboriginal issues. He shapes the agenda, one Aboriginal person's view and there are a number of people who support his views, particularly Marcia Langton, the famous Aboriginal philosopher, anthropologist and public intellectual. He has been able to gain that because he has the technical capacity to write well articulated, long policy papers to create a particular image around his institute – Cape York – this huge big think tank – he thinks he knows what is best for Aboriginal people. But, he is not really applicable to a whole heap of Aboriginal people, his views suit white people, not necessarily Aboriginal people (Interview with local Aboriginal resident in Broome)

The essence of Pearson's 'solution' for Aboriginal people is "productive engagement" in the "real economy", thereby moving away from welfare dependency; in essence "mainstreaming", as has been strongly supported by white Australia (Altman 2011, n.p.). He considers the social problems among Aboriginal communities to be related to long-term passive welfare-dependence and deeply entrenched destructive behaviour that tolerates excessive alcohol abuse, domestic violence and school absenteeism. In an interview with the ABC TV's Tony Jones, Pearson spoke of the neoliberal principles of personal responsibility and economic empowerment as the solution for Aboriginal people:

And the best thing for the prospect of those children in the future is that they know their father is a worker. And he has to set a role model for them of working in the economy (Pearson 2008, n.p.).

Pearson's neoliberal views were manifesting throughout the Kimberley through Bergmann, who suggested: "we need a paradigm shift from "welfare dependency" to "opportunity for a better future" as espoused by my colleague Noel Pearson" (Bergmann 2011a, n.p.). In the next section, the term 'real economy' is examined and it is shown how narrowly it was defined.

6.2.3 The ‘Real Economy’ Rationality for Aboriginal People

During an interview, a local participant in Broome perceived a “close the gap, get on a mine” mentality being promoted within local, regional, state and national discourses (Interview with local Aboriginal resident). This perception is supported by a mentality which can be identified within a Parliamentary address by former WA Liberal MP Barry Haase, reflecting that there are particular economic imageries attached to economic sectors. As a consequence, the mining, agricultural and pastoral industries are deemed ‘real’; alternative ones are not. For example, Haase questioned the WA Labor Government’s philosophy that the Kimberley tourism industry would be the “great salvation for the Indigenous population in the undeveloped Kimberley”. He proceeded to simplify what is undoubtedly a complex situation into the realm of cost-benefit logic, by making direct comparisons with less-developed countries – such as the wilderness areas of Sumatra, Africa or Borneo – stating how these “wonderfully exotic destinations” are unable to provide “very high standards of living for locals”. He also ridiculed the tourism industry by describing it as “pennies from tourists, the occasional job as a guide” (Hasse 2010, n.p.). Instead, he strategically asserted that resource development is in fact the ‘real’ economy that is the ‘great salvation’ for Aboriginal people in the Kimberley, as demonstrated in the following quote:

Compare that with a future, an absolute future equal to any that we enjoy as members of a real workforce. Compare that with resource development – export dollars for Australians to maintain a standard of living that we enjoy today ... Think of the real dollars, the real jobs and the real opportunities that would come and imagine the much better future the Indigenous population of the Kimberley would enjoy if we continued to develop the Kimberley in a sustainable way – subjected to modern regulation and enjoying modern technology (Hasse 2010, n.p.).

Importantly, this also underpins a neoliberal agenda that the provision of jobs and opportunities is critical for the future of Aboriginal people, views associated with Wayne Bergmann, Noel Pearson and the Premier, as noted in the previous section. This economic language also reflects the previously identified strand of CSR discourse that surrounds the case, where, via the provision of jobs and opportunities, Aboriginal people will have a better future. Across varying communications (e.g.

parliamentary debates, investor speeches and media releases), the Premier demonstrated the uniqueness of the opportunity presented by the LNG industry (see Insert 6). The penetration of this message was evident across Ministerial portfolios with Dr Elizabeth Constable, the former Minister for Tourism, engaging with the same discourse: “the development of an LNG Industry in the region is a once in a generation opportunity to provide significant benefits to the Aboriginal communities – a chance to see investment and job creation” (Legislative Council 2009, n.p.). It was also evident at the regional and local scale through the dominance of chief negotiator Bergmann: “I believe the kind of mineral boom we are seeing in WA today comes along once or twice a century. To ignore its potential, on the grounds that something better is bound to come along, is reckless; we could be missing a unique opportunity” (Bergmann 2011b, n.p.).

Premier Barnett

“I mean, bear in mind this is the opportunity for Aboriginal people in that area. This is *real* jobs, *real* improvements in housing, education and health. Now, it's all very well to say you shouldn't do it. I cannot look a young Aboriginal boy or girl in the eyes and say, I can offer you something better” (*emphasis added*) (Barnett 2010, n.p.).

“I believe history will record that agreement as a significant step forward in terms of economic self determination and an improvement in the living standards of the people, the Aboriginal people of the Kimberley. It also may become part of a milestone along the way to reconciliation across Australia ... what alternative do you have for finding long term improvements, closing the gap, reconciliation, economic independence and development for the thousands of unemployed disadvantaged people in the Kimberley, because there is nothing that I can think of that comes anywhere near the opportunity presented by liquefied natural gas” (Barnett 2009b, n.p.).

“We are well on our way to making a significant positive impact on the lives of Aboriginal people and delivering a lasting, positive legacy for future generations in the Kimberley through responsible economic development” (Barnett 2009c, n.p.).

“The project will provide current and future generations of Aboriginal people in the Kimberley with long-term jobs and a real opportunity for genuine self determination and prosperity – a far better outcome than welfare dependency” (Government of Western Australia 2010, 27).

Insert 6: Economic CSR Discourse

Given its frequency and dispersion across scales, this economically infused CSR discourse showed signs of being hegemonic, especially when used in association with young Aboriginal people. Alternative discourses were represented as unethical and irresponsible. Given the saturation of the ‘real economy’ rationality within WA’s political culture and system, and the utmost belief in its unequivocal real contribution, it seemed almost taboo in WA to dispute its real contributions for Aboriginal people, as Dr Anne Peolina, Kimberley Traditional Owner, has done:

Traditional Owners throughout the Kimberley have been building a sustainable local economy around culture and conservation industries. Evidence shows that there are more jobs in sustainable industries than there are in resource development (Hyman 2010, n.p.).

The examples provided in Insert 6 also point to an inappropriate use of self-determination. The signing of the Indigenous Land Use Agreement was called “the greatest act of Aboriginal self-determination since the 1967 referendum” by the Premier (Jones 2011, n.p.). For the State Government, GJJ Traditional Owners took a key role in shaping their future by signing the James Price Point LNG precinct agreement. The self-determination policy introduced in the 1970s was intended to give Aboriginal people a central role in making decisions affecting their own lives, guided by their own policies and desires for the future. It was a policy shift that was intended to bring about rapid improvement in a range of social indicators (Altman and Hinkson 2010). However, when placed in context with Aboriginal interpretations of self-determination, this construction is particularly problematic.

These discourses point to a form of neoliberal practice, whereby the State Government appears to want to promote and advocate the benefits of this precinct with the aim of promoting the “entrepreneurial conduct of economically rational individuals” (Gordon 1991, 40) (see also Howlett *et al.* 2011). But, this construction constrains self-determination to a narrow form of economic development and economic freedom. It is a form of self-determination that is narrowly coined around the ‘real economy’ view of the world as discussed previously. Thus, in the James Price Point case, Aboriginal people were being forced to practice their freedom in particular ways (Dean 2010). This could also be conceived as a form of domination,

in which the subordinated persons have little room for manoeuvre because their “margin of liberty is extremely limited” (Foucault 1988, 12).

6.2.4 Industry Constructed ‘CSR Space’

Given that the dominant political priorities of the WA State Government strongly preference resource development as a solution to the social challenges among Aboriginal communities in the Kimberley, they have come to shape the CSR discourses of the resources industry. This has had the resulting effect of legitimatising their role in the economy and served as a justification for the continued expansion of the industry. In Insert 7, Woodside has used this line of argument to its fullest extent to demonstrate the caring face of corporate capitalism (Doane and Abasta-Vilaplana 2005). In effect, Woodside was using the plight of Aboriginal communities for their own reputational benefit, tactfully framing the development of James Price Point as being socially responsible. This is particularly important when placed in context with a breakdown of commitments presented by the State Government and the foundational proponent to the GJJ Traditional Owners.

The State Government had, for example, made commitments to an economic development fund, house and land packages as well as freehold land, as a part of their Native Title obligations. However, Woodside, as the foundational proponent, had outlined its commitment to include business development opportunities, commitments to contracting opportunities and employment targets for Aboriginal people, as well as an agreement to make good on any potential environmental harm, thereby fulfilling their legislative requirements. In effect, these commitments strayed very little from ‘business-as-usual’, and were far from enacting real positive development goals, as their CSR discourses claimed.

Woodside Community Fact Sheet

“A once in a generation opportunity to enact real and positive change to their economic and social circumstances” (Woodside 2012a, 1).

Don Voelte, Former CEO Woodside

“It’s not about the dollars, the point is what are we doing to the community, what are we doing with health care in the area, education in the area?” (Whitmont 2010, n.p.).

Insert 7: Examples of Industry Constructed CSR Discourse

As a consequence, Aboriginal people, in the name of CSR, were at risk of being used as a tool for self-interest. For example, the leading industry body in WA, the Chamber of Minerals and Energy, advocated a minimalistic approach to the analysis of social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts – which were also critically important to Aboriginal people in the present case – in favour of rapid project approvals that would help provide jobs to Aboriginal people in the Kimberley:

A significant and growing proportion of the population in the Kimberley are Aboriginal. There is urgency in addressing employment and social advancement for the local Aboriginal populations that may override the desire for absolute data on all levels, to avoid otherwise impeding beneficial developments (Chamber of Minerals and Energy 2011a, 1).

Moreover, during a participant interview, it was noted that “resource companies are not in the business of Aboriginal policy ... the biggest contribution they can provide is through jobs” (Interview with Liberal MP). In this way, the ‘jobs mentality’ subsequently shaped the engagement between Woodside, the State Government and the resource communities. As a consequence, “the first thing mining companies do when they want project approval is to argue: 1) we will be environmentally friendly, and 2) we will employ Aboriginal people” (Interview with Liberal MP). This is because CSR is framed principally around Aboriginal people and “protection of the environment resonates well with the broader public” (Interview with senior government official). This is problematic as these CSR

themes have legislation attached, which largely shapes how CSR is implemented. A participant explained the associated problems while working in a community relations role within the industry:

We will only do these community and environmental activities because it is the only way we can actually do business, as opposed to acknowledging the moral responsibility [...] They are working on an old fashioned paradigm, they are not very progressive and the basic approach is just to do what is required. Now CSR is not just giving away money, it is how you operate your business ... so this license to operate concept is extremely destructive in that it embeds CSR as a business, you only do it so you can run business so that whole philosophical approach you need in a true CSR approach is not there (Interview with mining professional).

Furthermore, another participant interview emphasised the way both the State and Federal Governments had failed in their responsibilities to Aboriginal people over the years: “you have a look at what the State or Federal Government have achieved in the last 30 years with Indigenous improvements or improving the social disadvantage or just improving the situation for Aboriginal people in remote areas, it is about zero” (Interview with industry representative). With government’s ‘neoliberalising’ regional areas, local Aboriginal communities in the Kimberley and elsewhere had found themselves in situations where they were forced to negotiate with resource companies over their land, in exchange for basic services (c.f. Howlett *et al.* 2011). This situation was revealed by a participant while working in a community relations role within the industry:

There is a level of desperation in these communities to get money up there. There is a sustainability shift taking place but they are caught in a horrible catch 22 in these communities. We know that government are under investing in these communities, the reason they can do it is because the mining companies are doing it. When government is taken out of the equation and you can make an argument that services are to be provided by private people, services that would normally be provided by governments (Interview with former mining professional).

This situation has also prevailed within the present case, where GJJ Traditional Owners saw the LNG project as their only opportunity for improvements in health, education, and welfare for their people (Interview with Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner).

6.2.5 Aboriginal Development: A Spatial Construct

With the notion of property rights, and the existence of Native Title structured around particular bounded land areas, the individual's 'right' to negotiate is based on an absolute conception of space. The intended consequence of such territorial designations, as Harvey (2005a, 94) pointed out, is that "all uncertainties and ambiguities could in principle be banished". In this case, this proved problematic as the significance of the proposed industrial complex went beyond the boundaries of claim groups to include every Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal person in the Kimberley. As Jabirr-Jabirr woman, Mitch Torres explained, the LNG precinct was a "serious issue for all Kimberley people" (ABC Kimberley 2011a, n.p.). The Yawuru people, the Native Title holders for Broome, were also directly impacted by the proposed development, but, through predefined spatial delineations, were not legally recognised as having the 'right' to participate and negotiate. Similarly, Aboriginal communities and Traditional Owners along the Dampier Peninsula were concerned about the impact of the LNG precinct, but as they lied outside a territorial boundary, were largely excluded from the decision-making process.

Alternatively, the regional fund, as part of the Indigenous Land Use Agreement, which was intended to benefit Aboriginal people across the Kimberley, demonstrates the way the CSR frames did shift across scales. However, this rarely happens because Native Title law grants negotiating power to those affiliated with land claims. Such absolute conceptions simplify the obligations and the field of consultation and negotiation for the benefit of government and corporations, and are actually framed by legal requirements, rather than a will to do good. This suggests that the CSR construct is subjected to particular spatial complexities that advantage some over others. In the James Price Point case, for a significant land-holding with substantial implications for Broome, a town 60 km away, the GJJ Traditional Owners were in a position of power and authority over every other individual due to their formal connection to the land.

In summary, the case has shown that the CSR factor of Aboriginal development was underpinned by a neoliberal agenda and a dominant 'real economy' mentality. This section identified key CSR actors who also acted as

leaders in these relations of power. Evidently, a complex CSR construct was being framed in simple terms by using the potential socio-economic benefit to Aboriginal people as its primary vehicle.

6.3 Framing of CSR: Environmental protection

Environmental protection emerged as a critical CSR factor within the James Price Point case, and within State Government discourses, more generally. This section analyses the way environmental protection was constructed, the instruments used and how this ‘played out’ on the ground.

6.3.1 Technologies for Environmental Management

The Premier defined the State Government’s obligations for the proposed LNG precinct as: 1) “protect the environment”, 2) “make sure that jobs are for Australians”, and, 3) “make sure that development of the gas is world’s best practice” (SEAAOC 2009, n.p.). To place this in a broader context, the State Government has a policy position that “promote[s] development without compromising the environment” (Government of Western Australia 2010, 26). This reflects a specific change in terminology and an approach, distinct from the ‘sustainability’ era under the Gallop Labor Government³² (2001-2008), and that of “development-at-any-cost” under the Charles Court Liberal-National Government in the 1970s/1980s (Brueckner and Ross 2010, 185).

Over the past four decades, the management of the environment has been an area of continued government interest. This attention is important, for the way problems are framed gives considerable insight into their underpinning rationalities (Miller and Rose 2008). In part, this government interest has been due to industry and political concern about the capacity of environmental (and Aboriginal) issues to slow down resource development approvals, and also due to the evolving global

32 Premier Geoff Gallop was the first premier of any State or Territory in Australia to introduce a sustainability agenda blueprint: “Hope for the Future: The Western Australian State Sustainability Strategy”. The Sustainability agenda was intended to be legislated through an act of parliament, the “Sustainability Act” (Gallop 2003).

interest in environmental protection (Government of Western Australia 2009). As a result, there has been a series of reviews,³³ with the most recent being the *Regulatory Impact Assessment Process Review* initiated by the former WA Resources Minister Norman Moore in 2009 (Moore 2009a).

The review sought “to make the State’s approval processes more efficient and more welcoming for mineral and petroleum exploration and development activity”: an evident example of neoliberal logic (Department of Mines and Petroleum 2009, n.p.). Similarly, an Industry Working Group was formed, bringing together twelve of the most significant professionals (private resource developers and senior government officials from the DMP) in Perth, to deliver “sweeping changes” to the approvals system (Government of Western Australia 2009; Mills 2009, n.p.). Changes were recommended for the Native Title and Aboriginal heritage processes, the Environmental Protection Authority, the *Environmental Protection Act 1986*, its appeals processes and the *Mining Act 1978*. While the group did not recommend a change to the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 1972*, it did suggest that guidelines be developed by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs, and be “reviewed by the mining and petroleum industry prior to final endorsement” (Mills 2009, n.p.). This example points to specific technologies of power, in which corporate interests were permitted to strongly influence the environmental sphere in WA.

To place these final recommendations in context, in the preface of the Review’s report, Honourable Peter Jones, as Chairman, noted how political attitudes had “powerfully evolved”, since the time when he was Resource Development Minister under the Sir Charles Court Administration in the 1960s/1970s (Government of Western Australia 2009, 1). He also explained how “responsible resource development has had, and will continue to have a negligible impact on WA’s environment”, demonstrating a clear preference for voluntary measures, reflective of the neoliberal logic characterising the CSR space in WA (ibid, 1-2). He also pointed to the “great power of WA’s Environmental Protection Act” and its

³³ The Technical Taskforce on Mineral Title applications, the Keating Review, the Bowler Report (Davis 2006).

“unintended and unforeseen consequences” for WA’s developmental ethos (ibid, 2). In another example, the hegemonic economic rationality is revealed when the Chairman notes that “the environment is an important consideration, but it is not always – or even often – the only one. A weak economy is a far greater threat to the environment than is responsible mining” (ibid, 1-2).

This suggests that while the management of the environment in WA has been framed by specific governmental technologies encoded in statute at the Federal and State level, its realisation has been strongly influenced by the prevailing political climate and the state-industry alliance. There is also evidence to suggest that the relative power and status of the Ministers and portfolios (e.g. environment versus resources development) was also a contributing factor, thereby exposing relations of power within the system of CSR governance. For example, this can be demonstrated by the role and relationship between the Environmental Protection Authority (EPA) – who acted as the main advisor in the James Price Point case – and the Government of the day.

In the case, the EPA granted final environment approval in July 2012, along with 29 recommendations to the Minister – given the sensitivity of the site and the significance of the project. Deputy Director General Gail McGowan of the DSD considered the process to be a “culmination of a very rigorous process and the community should be confident that we have a very good environmental assessment process in this State” (Collins 2011b, n.p.). Governed by the WA *Environmental Protection Act 1986*, the EPA is “independent, it cannot be directed by the Minister and historically, it has prided itself as being independent” (Interview with former senior government official). As noted previously, the power granted to the EPA has been criticised by industry and some politicians as it was seen to have taken its environmental responsibility ‘too far’. For example, the chairman of Review noted that the EPA “develops policies, processes and requirements which have been pursued and enforced without the current Government’s endorsements” (Government of Western Australia 2009, 2). However, while the EPA does provide a list of conditions associated with project approval, according to an MP, the EPA “rarely says ‘no’ to projects on environmental grounds” (Interview with Greens MP).

This tendency seems to exist because of the prevailing hegemonic economic rationality identified in Chapter 5. A former senior government official, previously employed in agencies associated with the management of the environment, explained how the chairman of the EPA is a Ministerial appointment. It seems the appointment is often made based on their ideological alignment with the State Government, as they “would not appoint someone who is really ‘out there’ in an environmental sense”. It also seems the EPA undertakes its role within the boundaries of this dominant economic rationality, as it was noted that the EPA “cannot be too far ahead of contemporary public and political view. It understands that it can only push so far with its independence ... there is no point in saying no to something [a project] or setting up really high standards for something [a project] when it is just not achievable because there is an appeals process and the Minister for the Environment makes a final decision” (Interview with former senior government official).

The Environment Minister’s decision also appeared to be framed by this hegemonic economic rationality, which affects EPA’s recommendations. The Gorgon LNG precinct proposed on Barrow Island is a case in point:

The EPA didn’t like the idea of Chevron going to Barrow Island for its LNG processing plant and found it environmentally unacceptable ... In this case, it knew that the Government was going to say yes to it anyway so what they did was, instead of saying “no” it in effect said “ok Minister if you are of a mind to say yes to this project, here is a draft set of conditions to work with (Interview with former senior government official).

The above analysis also demonstrates that the framing of the environment was also contingent on “the condition, strength and attitude of the Minister for Environment” (Interview with State Labor MP). In WA, the Minister for Environmental plays an important role in making environmental determinations. The former Minister for Environment, Bill Marmion, who has been appointed as the Minister of the prestigious portfolio of mining and petroleum in 2013, also highlighted that “his primary concern in giving [environmental] approvals is whether a project is environmentally acceptable and in the best interests of the State” (Towie 2011, n.p.). Firstly, the use of ‘approval’, not assessment, demonstrates a “forgone conclusion that the project will be approved” (Interview with Greens MP). Secondly,

it represents a clear example of how the prevailing economic rationality clouds the environmental sphere, when environmental decisions are also made in the economic interests of the state. While holding the Environment portfolio, Minister Marmion also appointed the former DSD's Executive Director of the Browse LNG precinct – a high level official within a 'pro-development' Department – to the EPA Board as an "economics expert", committed to "contributing to the economic and social fabric" (Prior 2011a, n.p.).

The process of ministerial appointment in WA tends to place "weaker ministers", often "early in their political career", in the environment portfolio. The appointment is also usually someone "who does not hold as much political clout as say the Minister of Mines and Petroleum, and the Minister of State Development" (Interview with Greens MP). If the Environment Minister is proactive, "they get howled down as biased and trying to stop development" (ibid), a fact that exists at both Federal and State levels, as shown in the quote by the Senator for WA, David Johnston:

The Minister for Environment, Peter 'once we win government we'll change it all' Garrett has already proved such a liability that he is muzzled at every opportunity and seldom let off his leash by his political minders. However, he was let loose just long enough to cause problems for a major gas project worth \$8 billion by embarking on what he calls a 'big picture' strategy in planning for future development on the West Kimberley coast ... New and inexperienced Minister for Environment who is hell bent on stopping projects that will bring economic prosperity to the nation and our trading partners ... it is obvious the Environment Minister has already made up his mind on future development in this region and is already putting up hurdles, with 'strategic assessments' which is code for threatening sovereign risk issues in Australia's northern gas fields (Johnston 2008, n.p.).

This quote demonstrates the hegemony of the economic rationality in WA and at the Federal level, and further elicits features of neoliberalism with its attack on strategic 'assessments' and forward planning as 'hurdles' and threat to 'sovereign risk'.

6.3.2 The ‘Environment’ as a Spatial Construct

A key element of the environmental debate within the James Price Point case was the strategic use of spatial imaginary. The three spatial frames of absolute, relative and relational, as well as the issues of scale, were constantly referred to, and appear to have been employed as strategic instruments used by key CSR actors. For example, the Kimberley region was assumed as the relevant ‘regional’ scale of significance. The regional scale was framed in relation to the costs and benefits of the development; its size being contrasted with the ‘local’ scale of the precinct, and importantly, the environmental impacts that its development would have (see Insert 8). The way this spatial frame shifted from local to regional was in direct contrast to the way the GJJ boundaries were defined, as primary stakeholders at the local scale (as noted in the previous section on Aboriginal development).

Premier Barnett

“With respect to James Price Point, yes, it's an attractive beach area. It is a small area. It is about three and a half thousand hectares of land and sea bed affected. To put that in context of the Kimberley, if the Kimberley was the MCG, this is one seat. It is a very small part of a vast landscape” (Barnett 2010, n.p.).

“[James Price Point] is a tableland. Flat as a table. An unremarkable beach. There are no cliffs, there are no hills, there are no communities probably within 30-40 kilometres. It is not the Kimberley that Qantas uses for its ads. Nothing like it” (Manning 2009, n.p.).

Woodside Representative

“Approximately 2500 hectares has been allocated for the precinct, which represents less than 0.006 per cent of the Kimberley. To put it into perspective, the Kimberley is an area of 423,517 square kilometres, which is about twice the size of Victoria, more than three times the size of England, and about the same size as the state of California” (cited in Shire of Broome 2011, 2).

Industry Participant

“Absolutely spectacular place, but this is the loss of one or two beaches and I don’t mean that in a really nasty way. It is a really small footprint with 99.9% of the place is remaining. If you build development in one area you can then hub the growth around that, rather, than dotting it all up and down the coast that they have done previously” (Interview with industry participant).

Insert 8: Examples of Absolute Representations of Space

In addition to the way regional scale was used, these examples also evoked spatial sensibilities such as ‘Euclidean’ frames to perform their ideological work, that is, downplay the environmental impact of the LNG precinct. The examples above demonstrate how the land at James Price Point was portrayed strongly as an entity by itself, independent of whatever objects, relations or events that may occupy it (Barab *et al.* 1999). By representing the land in facts and figures, this spatial sensibility draws from the realm of common sense, in which historical, spiritual, cultural, recreational and ecological values appear to conflict.

Through the same spatial frame, the LNG precinct would only affect “three and a half thousand hectares of land and sea bed” (Barnett 2010, n.p.). The environmental impact of the project was also placed in context with another environmental problem that does cross local boundaries: “cane toads are a far greater threat to the region than a gas hub” (Prior and Williams 2011, n.p.). By using this spatial frame, there is little significance given to the reported high carbon dioxide content of the Browse gas fields, a problem that is considered to be global and national, or the reported toxic plumes common to LNG precincts that are dispersed beyond local boundaries (Commonwealth of Australia 2009; Lester 2010) (discussed further in the next chapter). Therefore, the environmental impacts were deemed to be in stark contrast to the suggested economic significance of the project to the local, regional, state and Australian economies (Department of State Development 2010b), which was also anecdotal and had not been subjected to any form of economic modelling (Grudnoff 2012). It seems to be a case of simplifying the bad, and exaggerating the good.

By going beyond the boundaries of the case, it is also possible to identify how the environment was subjected to critical spatial differences, when, for example, the north of WA was compared with the south. In 2011, a proposed underground

coal mine, 15 km northeast of the Margaret River township,³⁴ was rejected by Bill Marmion, the former Minister of Environment and current Mines and Petroleum Minister, stating that: “Margaret River is a unique region with important environmental values which should be protected” (Australian Journal of Mining 2011, n.p.). However, industry groups had questioned the credibility of the environmental assessment process, suggesting that the “report lacked process and procedural fairness and departed from the Administrative Procedures used in the assessment process, which were established to provide certainty to industry, government and the public ... This includes giving weight to unsubstantiated statements of public opposition” (Chamber of Minerals and Energy 2011b, n.p.). The proposed coal mine was the subject of considerable local opposition from tourism and agricultural interests. There appears to be more political importance given to the economic flows associated with agricultural and tourist interests, and of politically powerful interests vested in the southern region, than in the northern regions of the state. For example: “Margaret River and, in NSW coal seam gas industry are fighting against mining interests versus agricultural interests. These groups have more political clout than greens and Aboriginal people. For the Margaret River region, you have a highly visible area and white tourist playground” (Interview with WA Greens MP). In other words, this could signify the emergence of ‘unimportant’ and ‘important’ communities derived from a relative spatial frame, where the location and its connection with certain industries and more powerful actors determine how decisions are made about the environment.

In summary, this analysis of the environment has showed two key aspects. The first aspect is the way an economic lens typically obscures matters of the environment, thereby shaping their level of importance. This is despite a government discourse that includes protection of the environment and that of world’s best practice. Where the perspective of the chairman of an Industry Working Group is that the economy is of far greater importance than matters of the environment fits

³⁴ Margaret River is a township located approximately three hours drive south from Perth City. It is a premium wine region and has attractive beaches, tall-timber forests, world-class surf breaks and ancient caves (Tourism WA 2013).

comfortably with the State Government's priorities. This rationality finds expression throughout the political architecture, where the Minister for the Environment and his Department of Environment and the EPA were forced to assess projects based on the best interests of the state, as opposed to specific environmental objectives. As a result, the James Price Point case was implicated in this prevailing hegemonic rationality.

Another key aspect identified is the way the environment was spatially constructed. This analysis considered three different constructions of space. The relational-versus-abstract constructions of space provide an important point of difference, and one that was crucial to the way CSR 'played out'. The simplicity associated with abstract constructions fuelled conflict where it is associated with the community's 'relational' connections to the James Price Point area (see Chapter 7). A relative lens of space also provided different frames placed on the environment when significant economic interests were involved.

6.4 Framing of CSR – Social Cohesion

Social cohesion was identified as a critical CSR factor, and emerged as a key source of opposition within the case. Moreover, it appears to have been subordinate to the environment in the governance of CSR. In this section, the analysis will explore the instruments that surrounded the social impact analysis, and how the ideologies worked to shape its construction.

6.4.1 Technologies of Social Cohesion

In the mid-1990s, the Supreme Court defined the operating terms of the Environmental Protection Authority (EPA) in WA. According to Dr Paul Vogel, chairman of the EPA, it was "made very clear" that the EPA's role was shaped around objective environmental matters, not social issues³⁵ (Mills 2011, n.p.). Unlike the environment, the social impacts are not governed by legislative boundaries,

³⁵ Consideration of 'social surroundings' under the Environmental Protection Act is now limited by this precedent to impacts directly associated with the physical/biological environment.

making the “social space” a “grey area” (Interview with senior government official). This was demonstrated within the James Price Point case, as shown by the Premier’s response to those opposing the project: “I recognise that you oppose the project and I respect that view. But it’s certainly not immoral or illegal ... it’s happening according to the law” (Prior and Williams 2011, n.p.). However, Governments of both persuasions have no intentions of formalising the social space because “they see it as adding more regulatory burdens on corporations” (Interview with senior government official); a clear example of neoliberal values working in the CSR space, where corporations’ voluntary actions are preferred over prescriptive ones. This continues while the social space is shown to be increasingly problematic for corporations, as exemplified by the James Price Point case.

In WA, 80 per cent of large mining and petroleum projects are enshrined in legislation known as State Agreement Acts (SAA). These carry “prestige status” (Government of Western Australia 2010, 13), and enshrine “huge benefits and protections in legislation” (Interview with senior government official). Obligations encoded in these statutes also extend to areas defined within this social space, and were described by the Premier as “elements of mutual obligation or if you like, corporate responsibility”, such as “local employment, housing, community facilities and a fair opportunity for local contractors to bid for work” (Government of Western Australia 2010, 13). However, it seems that, due to the dominance of the economic rationality and the state-industry alliance, there appeared to be no desire to risk ‘upsetting’ the resources sector with overly prescriptive or proactive measures within the social space, as explained:

When after 25 years, these State Agreement Acts come up for renewal, perhaps that company doesn’t need the same degree of government assistance or subsidy as it did 25 years ago. Perhaps we can push them a bit harder on environmental requirements, perhaps we can push them to deliver more social outcomes ... we have this strategic opportunity to make some changes here, what do we want as the State Government and public interest to come out of this but there is none of that thinking in terms of renewal of State Agreements (Interview with senior government official).

The social space was, therefore, shaped by philosophical frameworks about ethics and morality as well as dominant neoliberal values about government

interference on the one side, and the mindset of corporations on the other. However, it appeared that “there [were] certainly a lot of similarities in the way industry and key members of the current State Government think” (Interview with senior government official). This like-mindedness can be demonstrated in the way the State Government thought about liveability. It was noted within an interview that “this current Government is not about protecting liveability”; instead, neoliberal principles underpinned the notion of liveability shown in the way it is conceived as “providing economic opportunities for those communities. That is how you protect those communities and their liveability” (Interview with senior government official).

The case effectively demonstrated how these neoliberal values constricted liveability to narrow economic terms, namely jobs and opportunities, in effect demonstrating these provisions as adequate forms of social responsibility. As a consequence, concerns among some residents about protecting Broome’s liveability and sense of place were seen as largely dismissed by the Premier: “I don’t believe it will have a great impact on Broome... once operational. I don’t lie” (Prior and Williams 2011, n.p.). Instead they were framed in economic terms as a “major new private investment, new employment and business opportunities and a significant benefits package for Aboriginal people that will address social and economic inequalities” (Taylor 2012, n.p.). Similarly, Woodside’s Vice President Nigel Grazia framed the social benefits in an economic sense: “I would summarise it as saying it is an opportunity to diversify the local economy with a size of operation that will sit nicely within the current fabric of the community” (Hutchinson 2011, n.p.).

When social obligations are enshrined in an economic rationality, Woodside’s and the State Government’s interests are shown to fit comfortably together, as Woodside’s Chairman Michael Chaney noted:

Regrettably, it is easy to overlook the benefits that flow to a community through this process – employment, taxation revenues, innovative products and so on, and to assume that companies seek to make a profit at any cost (Chaney 2011, n.p.).

In using another case, cited by Woodside’s Chairman (a former director of BHP Billiton) in a speech about ethics, this economically ‘infused’ social space is rendered problematic. The Australian resource company BHP Billiton (BHP) began

operating an open-cut gold and copper mine in Ok Tedi, Papua New Guinea, in 1984. Through its operations, BHP was found to have caused serious damage, from both an environmental and a quality of life perspective, by dumping 80,000 tons of tailings (rock waste, containing copper, zinc, cadmium and lead) into the Fly and Ok Tedi Rivers on a daily basis (Imhof 1996). The river was polluted and resulted in 30,000 land owners, who lived downstream of the mine, being unable to earn any income from the sale of fish and garden produce (Imhof 1996). Chaney acknowledged that the “changes to the mine design in depositing the tailings in the river bed had caused some environmental degradation, but the mine had on the other hand brought a huge benefit to local people”. In his speech, Chaney justified the environmental and social liveability impact through powerful socio-economic statistics:

Infant mortality in the district falling from 33 per cent to 3 per cent, the average lifespan rising from 30 years to over 50 years and the incidences of malaria among village children falling from 70 to 15 per cent, and among adults 35 to 6 per cent. Thousands of employees at the mine had received adult education and training and educational opportunities for children had expanded enormously. Over 300 million dollars had been provided for community facilities and infrastructure where none had been previously provided. Some 30,000 people were employed in the mine from over 100 villages along the Ok Tedi river system (2011, n.p.).

In effect, Chaney (2011, n.p.) stated that “the human benefits of the mine far outweighed the detrimental environmental effects”, thereby demonstrating how an economic rationality underpins the social space. This continues even while the actions of the corporation had brought significant long-term environmental and social harm for the local community living downstream of the mine. For example:

Locals say that while some residents of the area may have benefited from BHP-supported facilities, they are hardly a replacement for the clean water and intact forests that were central to their lives (Imhof 1996, n.p.).

In the James Price Point case, a similar conclusion was drawn by Woodside:

The James Price Point concept will avoid the development of multiple plant sites in the wider Kimberley region by concentrating them in one area, an area outside the Kimberley plateau which on preliminary assessments is likely to be acceptable. The project will bring enormous

benefits to the local people as well as to the nation over all. It is highly ethical in my view to pursue the project ... If the project were not to proceed because of the activism, it would be an immoral act because the local Aboriginal people would be denied the billion dollar plus package of benefits that we have agreed with them (Chaney 2011, n.p.).

As Chaney (2011, n.p.) considers the project “highly ethical”, consideration must also be given to an individual’s beliefs or ideologies, and how these influence their ethical decision-making frameworks (Casali 2011). To place this within a broader context, Ferrell and Gresham (1985) noted that the oldest approach to the subject of ethics is based on a study of moral philosophy, where individuals would, knowingly or unknowingly, use a set of philosophical assumptions to make ethical decisions. There are two main philosophical approaches to ethics: teleological and deontological, where teleology deals with the moral worth of the outcomes of behaviour (Beauchamp and Bowie 1979). Utilitarianism is a teleological philosophy, which considers an act ethical if it achieves the greatest possible value for the majority (Ferrell and Gresham 1985). Chaney points to a utilitarian teleology in the following: “I personally tend to consider ethical issues with an outcomes based utilitarian focus, which actions are likely to provide the greatest good for the greatest number of people” (Chaney 2011, n.p.).

The utilitarian view is a common philosophical framework among the “vast majority of economists” (McGee 2010, 66), with its focus on measurement, value and the efficient use of resources (Ferrell and Gresham 1985). Nevertheless, it holds inherent structural problems (Frey 1984; Rothbard 1970), when it can completely disregard individuals’ rights and perspectives by assuming the good for the majority justifies any negative ramifications (McGee 2010). However, enormous benefits given to the minority might also count. This philosophy of the end justifies the means has a tendency to silence minority and individual concerns, which may be sacrificed for the greater good (McGee 2010).

Apparently, “if it is within our material (economic) interests to follow a certain course, we will work out a way to rationalise it” (Interview with senior

government official), which is suggestive of the utilitarian teleology embedded within the State Government.³⁶ Insert 9 demonstrates how this ethos is variously reflected in the discourses of various actors identified within the James Price Point case.

Liberal MP

“There is always a cost to progress” (participant interview).

Karratha business owner

“You often hear the statement that we are doing this for the common good, we must have sacrifices to achieve it” (participant interview).

Captain Vic Justice, Broome Port CEO and harbourmaster

“Any development in a regional setting creates pressures, but ... the benefits outweigh the costs” (Collins 2008, n.p.).

Insert 9: Examples of the Utilitarianism Ethos

6.4.2 The ‘Socio-Economic’ Space

The Terms of Reference detailed within the Commonwealth/State Strategic Assessment agreement (Australian Government 2008) indicated that the social space must be assessed, and management plans established, for the LNG precinct. A social impact assessment report as well as the resulting Strategic Social Impact Management Plan (SSIMP) formed a part of the Strategic Assessment. Even while management plans were established to take into account the social space, these plans were limited by a neoliberal framework, and lacked any legislative authority to impose conditions on the proponents.

³⁶ The utilitarian view is also suggested to be the framework for which democratic government is based (Riley 1990).

Furthermore, “the consultants employed to undertake Department studies [were] selected based on their ideological alignment, as they want a report that reflects their positions” (Interview with senior government official). The consultants commissioned by the DSD developed three volumes of social impact assessments: Volume 1 profiled the Kimberley region, Volume 2 explored potential social impacts, and Volume 3 detailed the management plans (Department of State Development 2009, 2010b, 2010c). In the second volume, many of the social impacts discussed were analysed in the context of the predicted natural population progression of the Shire of Broome, and sought to shift the responsibility away from the project proponents. For example, it was noted Broome’s natural population growth was projected to increase by 84 per cent by 2041, and “addressing the pre-existing social and environmental conditions or those that may come about due to natural growth [was] not necessarily the responsibility of a project proponent (in this case, the Foundation Proponent)” (Department of State Development 2010b, 2). In Insert 10 further examples of these statements drawn from the social impact reports have been tabled below.

“Social infrastructure services and facilities include, for example, public libraries, museums, youth centres, senior citizen centres, fire stations and community halls. Based on a significant projected natural population increase for the region, independent of any commercial or industrial development, these services will experience additional pressures and demands. The community services sector within Broome is already under considerable pressure and would have significant difficulty in meeting additional demand from any anticipated future population increase” (Department of State Development 2010c, 6).

“The health sector in Broome, including all hospital, medical and health services, is currently under significant demand and some services are oversubscribed. The projected increase in population anticipated for the Shire of Broome will bring significant additional demand ... The pressure upon West Kimberley health service delivery is estimated to continue independently of any further development proceeding in the region” (Department of State Development 2010c, 6).

“Under present circumstances, it is understood that Broome experiences difficulties in acquiring employees across all sectors. Even without the development of a Precinct at James Price Point, this existing problem will increase with the town’s natural population growth and corresponding increased demand (or supply) for labour” (Department of State Development 2010c, 18).

“Community identity is not static and changes over time. The past increases in population brought with it changes to Broome’s community identity. This is likely to continue with the natural population increases projected for Broome” (Department of State Development 2010b, 22).

“Inherent social infrastructure deficits and areas of social dysfunction already exist in Broome and are well documented. Given the significant forecast natural population growth for the Shire of Broome over the next 30 years, these will need to be addressed and managed into the future regardless of the establishment of the LNG Precinct and, in general, fall outside the scope of this report” (Department of State Development 2010b, 2)

Insert 10: The Social Impact of Broome Constructed around Natural Progress Indicators

Consequently, the Department’s social impact reports have been criticised for downplaying any social impacts attributed to the LNG precinct, as shown in Insert 11 presented below:

Government Official

“The social impact study done by the State was very strategic without any guts in it. There weren’t any outcomes in there. There were comments made all the way through “a plan will need to be developed” “a policy will need to be put in place”, “this will need to be addressed”, so it was a pretty wishy washy document, there was nothing in it ... The State’s document was pretty bland, where I was disappointed with the State in so much as what the report that they produced says that oil and gas will not dramatically affect the population in Broome and you got to look at that” (Interview with senior government official).

Broome Resident

“They are trying to pretend that Broome will not be affected, but Broome will be the supply base ... If you read the social impact assessment volume 3, they go to great lengths to say that Broome will not be affected” (Interview with local Broome resident).

Insert 11: Examples of Criticism toward the Social Impact Analysis

6.4.3 The Spatial Construction of Social Impacts

A key element of the debate about social impacts within the James Price Point case is also reflected within the strategic use of spatial imaginaries. This is

demonstrated, for example, in the way the Strategic Impact Assessment has been restricted to the local scale of the Broome township. In doing so, it suitably ignored the social impacts that have crossed spatial boundaries, such as those brought about by the suggested 97 per cent fly-in fly-out (FIFO) work force (Grudnoff 2012), or the potential social impacts on other regional centres within the Kimberley (such as Derby). Similar to the environmental impacts, which were understood as only affecting the land and waters of James Price Point, little consideration was given to social impacts. There was no consideration given to recreational amenity, where the proposal would have restricted public access to the coast in one of the few parts of the Dampier Peninsula not vested as Aboriginal Reserve (Interview with local Broome resident). Therefore, the social impact not only spread from one scale to another, it was also highly heterogeneous, as shown by the split in perspectives between supporters and opponents of the project.

This lack of attention in providing detailed social impact assessments strongly speaks to the treatment of non-economic values in the dominant neoliberal pro-development discourse. It supports the conclusions about how narrowly the 'social' was construed (i.e. liveability defined in economic terms), and also supports the resonating beliefs that there is always a cost to progress.

In summary, unlike the environment, the protection of the social space is not encoded in statute. This has meant that the social sphere was shaped and conflicted by differing perspectives on ethics, morality and neoliberal values about 'red tape' and government interference. The utilitarian teleology was identified within the discourses of key CSR actors in the James Price Point case. Critically, the definition of social impacts, understood at the local level, including maintaining liveability and a sense of place, was narrowly constructed around economic terminology by Woodside and the State Government. Social impacts were also conflated with assumed impacts arising from natural population growth within the formal social analysis. The spatial sensibility of social impacts also supports the conclusion that non-economic values feature poorly within the dominant neoliberal pro-development discourse.

6.5 Chapter Conclusion

Table 8 captures the key CSR themes together with key comments and illustrative quotes identified within the chapter. This analysis showed how the prominent CSR themes of *Aboriginal development*, *social cohesion*, and *environmental protection* were undermined by the hegemonic economic rationality. Aboriginal development was shown to be defined by prevailing neoliberal values, as held by the key CSR players (e.g. chief negotiator Wayne Bergmann and the Premier). As a result, the resource sector tacitly became a socially responsible development option for its ability to provide jobs and opportunities.

There was also evident a strategic use of spatiality, which was intended to achieve the path of least resistance to project approval; for example, the way Native Title was structured around an absolute conception of space. This has come at the expense of other Traditional Owners and communities that may have been equally impacted by the project.

In relation to environmental protection, an economic perspective obscured the environmental acceptability of resource projects. Environmental acceptability of the projects also appeared to be the subject of precise spatial frames which determine where resource development occurs (i.e. in the north in preference to the south of WA). Spatial frames were also shown to have simplified the project (i.e. the size of the development placed in context with the regional scale of the Kimberley).

There was also an unwillingness to legislate in regard to the social space because it was conceived as a 'regulatory burden', leaving it a contested terrain. It was also defined by the dominant perspectives that economic opportunities created by resource development are in themselves a form of social responsibility. The dominant neoliberal pro-development discourse was also being reinforced by the narrow constructions of the social impact (i.e. to the Broome township only). In the next chapter, the effects of these neoliberal features and spatial imaginaries will be explored.

Table 8: Summary of key CSR themes

Key CSR Themes	Findings	Illustrative Quote
Aboriginal development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aboriginal development is geared strongly entering into the real ‘modern’ economy • Aboriginal development is understood in neoliberal terms of personal responsibility, economic empowerment, self-determination and ending welfare dependency, through the provision of jobs and opportunities from the LNG precinct. 	<p>“The project will provide current and future generations of Aboriginal people in the Kimberley with long-term jobs and a real opportunity for genuine self determination and prosperity – a far better outcome than welfare dependency” (Government of Western Australia 2010, 27).</p>
Environmental protection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The environment, while encoded in Federal and State statutes, is shaped by a hegemonic economic rationality 	<p>“The environment is an important consideration, but it is not always – or even often – the only one. A weak economy is a far greater threat to the environment than is responsible mining” (Government of Western Australia 2009, 1-2).</p>
Social cohesion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The social space is ungoverned, left to voluntary actions of corporations and government ethos. • Liveability is defined in neoliberal terms (i.e economic terms) 	<p>“This current Government is not about protecting liveability. [it is about providing] economic opportunities for those communities. That is how you protect those communities and their liveability” (Interview with senior government official)</p>

CHAPTER 7 THE LIVED CSR SPACE

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter demonstrated the underlying rationalities within the governance of CSR, seen through three key CSR factors. In this chapter, the primary focus is on the lived experience of CSR which is explored using the same three key CSR themes – *Aboriginal development*, *environmental protection* and *social cohesion* – as identified in the previous chapter, plus the additional issue of *economic impacts* and *community relations tactics*. This chapter captures CSR experienced on the ground by members of the local Broome community, some of whom were in support of the project while others opposed. At its core, this chapter is the result of “competing orientations of [CSR] space” (Ellem and Shields 1999, 537) between a diverse community, competing GJJ Traditional Owners, Woodside and the State Government.

To place the James Price Point case in some context, the town of Broome is considered special compared to other towns in the North West of WA (e.g. Karratha, Port Hedland). It is described as a “green town”, “full of environmentally passionate people”. A characteristic of the town is a “cradle to the grave” phenomenon, where many old identities (such as among the ‘Old Broome families’) have remained in Broome for their lifetimes, and stay passionate about its history, present and future (Interview with WA Liberal MP). Relying largely on tourism and pearling industries, Broome has suffered the effects of a high Australian dollar, thereby needing alternative economic industries. These are some of the local factors that contextualise the case.

Conflict within the case has been highly visible and extends beyond the boundaries of the local scale. Locally, the conflict was not only between segments of the local Broome community against the State Government and Woodside, but also between supporters and opponents within the community. On the ground, the opposition has been visual: cars displayed with ‘no gas’ stickers and photos showing the undeveloped James Price Point alongside an industrialised one. ‘No Gas’ was

spray-painted on signs, footpaths and bins, while small businesses had messages of opposition on their windows and homeowners displayed house banners. Evening candlelight vigils were held outside key town buildings, community protests held outside corporate offices (in Broome, Perth and Eastern States), various community marches occurred (in Broome and Perth), and the Goolarabooloo Traditional Owners established various camps along Manari Road, James Price Point, for more than 100 days in protest.

This resistance may stem from local contextual factors identified above, but may also be seen as opposition to the prevailing norms, discourses and mentalities of the WA State Government that shaped and defined the social, environmental and Aboriginal factors of CSR.

7.2 The Lived CSR Space – Aboriginal development

From an Aboriginal perspective, some Aboriginal communities feel that mining companies and the WA State Government have frequently demonstrated a lack of respect for the rights of Aboriginal people, as noted in Chapter 5. As a consequence, in the past the KLC had a reputation for fierce advocacy of Aboriginal rights, but was now perceived by some members of the Aboriginal community to be aiding mining companies and facilitating the imposition of resource development models in the Kimberley region (Interview with local Aboriginal resident). A Jabbir-Jabbir Traditional Owner also reported a “feeling of devastation” toward the KLC for failing to represent all Traditional Owners’ interests and brokering major resource deals (ABC Radio National 2011, n.p.).

Nevertheless, the KLC, especially with the chief negotiator, Wayne Bergmann, has been highly influential in defining the terms and conditions of the ‘CSR space’. Bergmann argued that resource companies must engage in a “meaningful way” to “create legacies and have a compensation package that creates precedents in the international community”, and if they do not, resource companies are “not welcome in the Kimberley” (Carney 2008b, n.p.). He has been a persuasive force in ensuring economic, social, ecological and cultural impacts were minimised, and benefits were distributed to Aboriginal people.

In 2007, Bergmann criticised Woodside over its CSR practices, particularly, their push to find a site for LNG in the Kimberley, arguing that: “the consultation with residents has been flawed, with no guarantees of employment for Aborigines should the plant go ahead ... Some people are being misled into what their rights and interests are” (ABC News 2007, n.p.). Similarly, when the Premier intervened in the site selection process,³⁷ Bergmann “called on the Premier to allow the process of identifying a potential site for a gas hub to continue without interference, in order to ensure that any development to occur in a socially, culturally, and environmentally sustainable and responsible manner” (KLC 2011, n.p.). With the threat of compulsory acquisition, he also criticised the State Government: “we thought we’d moved on from the day of standing over people. Colin Barnett is not about making an informed decision but about stealing land for big, rich mining companies” (Laurie 2008, n.p.). These quotes give some insight into the lived experience of GJJ Traditional Owners, and the relations and tensions experienced at the hands of Woodside and the State Government in the case.

We can also gain insight, particularly in relation to the Heads of Agreement decision in April/May 2009, through the views of a Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner, a supporter of the “game chang[ing]” nature of the project:

I am a Traditional Owner of JPP, my father was born on the country. We met two and a half years ago as a Native Title group and that was the Goolarabooloo/Jabbir-Jabbir people. We were basically given 24 hours to make a vital decision on whether to sign off on Heads of Agreement. 24 hours from the State Government was not a nice thing. So we had 1 or 2 night’s sleep on it and then we had to come up with a decision and the whole time we did that with a gun to our heads by Mr. Barnett basically saying if you don’t sign this Heads of Agreement we will compulsorily acquire your land anyway (Interview with Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner).

In the case, compulsory acquisition was used as a strategic instrument to facilitate the path toward economic development. The State Government considered

³⁷ The Premier made a public announcement that the LNG precinct will be located at North Head. Later, the EPA ruled against North Head as a location for the precinct based on significant environmental and cultural grounds, particularly in relation to a number of Aboriginal communities close to the proposed site.

the instrument necessary: “if we didn’t threaten to compulsory acquire, we would be sitting under the tree in ten years’ time still talking about it” (Interview with senior government official). This is a clear example of the way the development agenda described in Chapters 5 and 6 had directly impacted on the lived experience through the Native Title process. For GJJ Traditional Owners, this was a significant decision that left many feeling “distressed and demoralised” (KLC 2010, n.p.). For Albert Wiggan, a Nhul-Nhul and Bardi Traditional Owner in the Kimberley, “it’s upsetting, and it’s hurtful as an Indigenous person but it’s not surprising. This is a wake-up call for many Indigenous people who have to go into these types of negotiations” (ABC News 2010). Moreover, in the next example, issue is taken with Woodside and its power over the State Government, as the driver of the threat of compulsory acquisition, as Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner and Executive Member of the KLC Frank Parriman explains:

I believe a lot of this stuff was orchestrated by Woodside – my anger is at Woodside more than the Premier. They want this project and they're prepared to do anything to get it. But Mr Barnett should have had enough courage to stand up to Woodside (Prior 2010a, n.p.).

The evidence also suggests that the economic rationality and development agenda influenced the Native Title process and its timeline imposed by the State Government and Woodside. Apparently, genealogies were not complete before undertaking the vote, and as a result GJJ families were excluded from the decision-making process. According to Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner, Mitch Torres, only 300 of the 1600 registered Traditional Owners were afforded the opportunity to vote in the crucial Heads of Agreement decision, which led to a “majority” in favour verdict determined on a 164-108 outcome (ABC Kimberley 2011a, n.p.):

People weren’t added to the genealogy that is still trying to be fixed up right now. Why wasn’t that done first before the vote, whole families have been left off? ...We are trying to rectify the families that are left off the genealogies are included. At the end of the day they have a say just as anyone else (ABC Kimberley 2011a, n.p.).

Anthony Watson, Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner and first name claimant for the Native Title application and now KLC Director and Chairman of KRED,³⁸ strongly portrayed a positive, supportive, and consultative negotiation process in the West Australian newspaper (Watson 2011). However, broader evidence points to an underlying and prevailing development agenda that left Traditional Owners feeling bullied, uninformed and with the sense of ‘fighting’ against the State Government and Woodside, as noted in Insert 12:

Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner, Mitch Torres

“The process involving KLC, Woodside and State was one of bullying. You must understand that we were pushed through ... The lack of information that flowed down from State and Woodside to KLC [...] meant that all the claimants were given information that wasn’t enough to make them fully informed and to give a consent vote that was fully informed. That is one of the process things that really fell down for us” (ABC News 2011a, n.p.).

Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner

“One would have a perception they were meeting quite frequently. It was difficult because each negotiation we would meet both departments separately. We could never get them both in the same room at the same time. It was very difficult time for us” (Interview with Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner).

Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner

“We felt like we were fighting against them [Woodside and State Government] the whole time” (Interview with Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner).

Insert 12: Statements Reflecting Negative Lived Experiences

Crucially, it appeared that the KLC’s former CEO, along with Woodside and the State Government, created an ethical dilemma for GJJ Traditional Owners. They placed them in the position of trading culture and country in exchange for economic

³⁸ KRED – Kimberley Regional Economic Development — is an Aboriginal Charitable Trust working with industry and Traditional Owners to develop Aboriginal enterprises, business partnerships, commercial arrangements, jobs and training for Aboriginal people. It is a private enterprise, run by CEO, Wayne Bergmann (KRED enterprises 2013).

‘hope’: jobs and opportunities as well as health and education. This has generated considerable criticism – both within the case as well as beyond the boundaries of the case to other resource development projects – accusing the State Government specifically of forcing Aboriginal communities to negotiate a financial outcome for essential services they believe should be supplied by State and Federal Governments (Bainbridge 2010; Hansard Council 2009; Lloyd 2012; O’Faircheallaigh 2006; Wilson and Muller 2012). Support by Traditional Owners for the project appeared to be strongly focused on its ability to provide these financial and essential services for Aboriginal communities, as noted in Insert 13:

Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner

“For me, this entire project is all about education and looking after our young people. It’s about providing the opportunity to start up a business or providing the facilities to run social programmes to look after the young; demands that also fall within the sphere of government services” (Interview with Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner).

Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner

“It was with very heavy hearts that they [Traditional Owners] have agreed to negotiate. They do so because they want the financial benefits for their people” (Carles 2011, n.p.)

Insert 13: Examples of ‘opportunity’ and ‘hope’ Discourse

In effect, by using the bleak future of Aboriginal people as the primary CSR ‘playing card’, Woodside, the State Government and KLC were seen to have effectively driven a wedge between Aboriginal groups of supporters and opponents of the project, splintering their solidarity and compounding the already complex Aboriginal politics. This can be seen in the divisions now evident between Jabirr-Jabirr and Goolarabooloo families. For example, Joseph Roe, a Senior Law Boss for the Goolarabooloo family, was the original first named applicant of the GJJ Native Title claim in 1998, but was voted off in 2011 by Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owners because of his staunch opposition to the project; however, he still sees his role as

being that of a ‘protector’ of the traditional Song Cycle that was passed to him by his grandfather at James Price Point.³⁹ Thus, for Goolarabooloo Traditional Owner, Joseph Roe:

The LNG Gas Precinct Proposal is a dangerous and frightening prospect for the Traditional Owners and Custodians. Without Country, there can be no Culture. Law cannot be practised. Nor can the Country be “kept quiet” and safe. Culture cannot exist without Country, nor Country without Culture. ... Any amount of money in compensation cannot substitute for it. We do not consent to the development of a LNG precinct on our land. As native title claimants our views, opinions and desires regarding our land and culture have not been represented. We will not allow our land to be taken from us. We will fight for our land in court (Roe 2011, n.p.).

As a result, the State Government’s portrayal of the signing of the agreement for the LNG precinct as a significant act of ‘self-determination’ is problematic. As shown within Insert 14, some GJJ Traditional Owners felt their decision-making capacity was extremely limited, and they had been acting without the freedom of choice that underpins Aboriginal ideals of self-determination. The removal of the ‘right to veto’⁴⁰ projects along with the threat of compulsory acquisition compelled Traditional Owners to participate in the negotiations: “If it will go ahead anyway, we would prefer to be at the negotiating table” (Interview with Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner).

³⁹ The Lurujarri Trail follows the land of the traditional Song Cycle and exists through the land proposed for the LNG processing plant.

⁴⁰ The State Government removed the Aboriginal “right to veto” projects, a policy position of the former Labor Government. In the James Price Point case, the former Premier Alan Carpenter noted that “if the Aboriginal people in the West Kimberley do not want to host an onshore processing facility, none will occur” (Legislative Assembly 2006, 1).

Broome Resident

“I know a number of families who are very well respected for their cultural status would say that they would prefer to see they direct their own policies and influence the way the town is going without having to deal with a mining company. They weren’t really given a choice” (Interview with Local Broome Resident).

Nhul-Nhul and Bardi traditional owner, Albert Wiggan

“I sense a naive and selfish use of self determination by forcing native title groups that surround your proposed areas to consent to this development or to consent to the boundaries of that particularly clan group, when these native title groups that need to provide their consent haven’t even established a working group, haven’t even collected valuable information like accurate Genealogical records, environmental and cultural records ... We would like to conduct our own assessment, we should be given that chance before we are expected or encouraged to support a development related to native title groups. Those are our priority issues” (Wiggan 2010, n.p.).

Wayne Barker of the Traditional Owner Negotiating Committee (TONC):

“He [the Premier] calls it self-determination, we call it standing on our own feet with a gun to our head” (ABC Kimberley 2011b, n.p.).

Insert 14: Aboriginal Constructions of ‘Self-Determination’

In summary, this section highlighted how the prevailing development ideology shaped relations and created tensions between Traditional Owners, the State Government and Woodside. As a result, some GJJ Traditional Owners felt they were bullied and pressured into saying ‘yes’, particularly with the threat of compulsory acquisition and the removal of the right to veto. For regional areas, neoliberalism has played a key role in the non-provisions of services, adding a worrisome influence to the vexed CSR space, where Aboriginal people are expected to sell their land and negotiate with mining companies and the State Government to get access to essential services and other opportunities. As a consequence, support for the project by Traditional Owners was strongly geared around the project’s suggested capacity to be a ‘game changer’.

7.3 The Lived CSR Space – Environmental Protection

Chapter 6 outlined the State Government's position with respect to the construction of the LNG precinct, and having the highest regard for environmental protection. Yet, the analysis suggested that the environmental process was underpinned by a hegemonic economic rationality, which impacted upon the EPA and the Environment Minister's recommendations. It appears there has been some criticism directed at the findings of the strategic assessment report which subsequently became the basis for which environmental approval was granted by the EPA. For example, Marine Scientists from Murdoch University "have very little confidence in the scientific integrity of the report and this is evidenced by the unfounded conclusions reached within" (Collin 2011b, n.p.) and "we surely cannot rely on a decision maker to make an assessment on such a large proposal based on an environmental impact assessment that can't identify between one species and another" (Mailor and Collins 2012, n.p.). Scientists have called for at least an additional two years of monitoring to establish a baseline for environmental impacts at James Price Point, and the State Government accepted this criticism as "only natural" (Collins 2011b, n.p.).

Gail McGowan, Deputy Director General of the DSD, suggested that "a multitude of studies will go hand in glove with these projects that will go on for the life of this project. But that doesn't mean that the project cannot start" (Collins 2011c, n.p.). This is an example of the way economic rationality clouds the environmental sphere, as it does with the funding restrictions to environmental research along the Dampier Peninsula. The quote below highlights the frustrations by a business owner in the Kimberley with this prevailing economic rationality:

There are preliminary studies at James Price Point that have showed the biodiversity of the reef fish there is greater than the Great Barrier Reef ... Every time researchers go into the Kimberley they find new species. It is unbelievable and right now the State Government has a policy in place to restrict funding for research on the Dampier Peninsula. Their position is that they have already done enough, because there has been 100 million dollars of research conducted at James Price Point and most of it is not even open to the public. That is what we are dealing with here. It is being done so deliberately, at least the restriction to conduct the research

because they don't want it confusing this wave of industrialisation (Interview with business owner in the Kimberley).

As a consequence, these findings suggest that the State Government is supportive of a kind of CSR space which is not derived from a complete understanding of costs, benefits or risks, or alternatively, derived fully from the environmental research provided by corporations, such as Woodside's "World Class Whale Research" at James Price Point (Woodside 2012b, 1).⁴¹ For this reason, Lindsay (2010) concluded in his PhD research that the environmental significance of James Price Point was conveniently ignored for Woodside's and the State Government's own economic desires.

Moreover, in a spatial sense, Chapter 6 noted that James Price Point was conceived in absolute terms as an unremarkable beach area of the vast Kimberley landscape. The way that CSR actors have used space strategically from an environmental point of view has been important in making comparisons and distinctions with local lived CSR understandings. For some Broome locals, James Price Point represents more than a beach, but an area that is interconnected with objects, meanings and forces; a relational construction that has multiple intangible values – social, physical, historical, spiritual, cultural, recreational and ecological. For its ecological value, James Price Point has been previously recommended for National Park protection by these bodies: the Australian Academy of Sciences and the National Parks Board of WA in 1992, the Environmental Protection Authority in 1977 and 1993, the Shire of Broome, Department of Land Administration, WA State Cabinet in 2000, and by the Broome Planning Steering Committee in 2005 (Lindsay 2012).

James Price Point is considered by some palaeontologists as having significant dinosaur footprints, which subsequently were Heritage listed by the

⁴¹ Between 2008 and 2012, the research concluded that 95 per cent of the whales swam more than 8km away from James Price Point toward Campden Sound to the north of the Kimberley. These figures have been disputed by the *Kimberley Community Whale Research* project facilitated on behalf of the Goolarabooloo Traditional Owners and the Broome Community *No Gas* Campaign (Tillett 2013).

Federal Government. A palaeontologist explains the site's significance: "If you go there, to James Price Point, there are some footprints there that you won't find anywhere else along the coast ... This will certainly cut through things that should be preserved" (Collins 2012, n.p.). For its cultural value, Goolarabooloo Traditional Owners believe the land is sacred and cannot be traded: "The site specific cultural heritage as it has arisen, directly from this coastline, cannot be relocated or put on hold while Country is destroyed by industry. Any amount of money in compensation cannot substitute for it" (Roe 2011, n.p.). Even for non-GJJ Traditional Owners and non-Aboriginal people, the land has special cultural and spiritual significance as noted within Insert 15:

Small Business Owner

"James Price Point is an amazing piece of country that I have had an affiliation with for many years. I have walked that country with old Paddy Roe and his grandsons who are now standing up there defending it. They are now standing up for country which is what Paddy Roe taught me to look after country and he charged me with that responsibility as much as his grandsons and anyone who walked with him. He said it doesn't matter whether you are black, white or brindle you walk this country to keep it alive and if you keep this country alive and you respect this country and walk this country it will look after you" (Interview with Broome small business owner).

Nhul-Nhul and Bardi Traditional Owner Albert Wiggan

"We are still trying to keep the culture and heritage of this land, it means more to us than any dollar. It means more to us than any mineral, anything that you can rip out of this earth ... This is special country and people come here from all over the world to experience what is so special about it" (Wiggan 2010, n.p.).

Insert 15: The Cultural and Spiritual Importance of James Price Point

Therefore, it was what James Price Point *meant* in an intangible sense to some segments of the local Broome and national community that was at stake, yet the current method of analysis (fact, technical and tangible) employed by the State Government and Woodside failed to connect with these aspects. As 'old Broome family' and musical identity Alan Pigram suggests, the CSR space at James Price

Point cannot be represented by facts and figures, measurements and technical analysis:

The place they have picked is like something that is so close to us that we are integrated to it. We are not removed from it, we are part of it. So, that concept of picking that particular place is the key issue more than anything to Broome families. It is not a place 60km away from us, it is a place that we have used all our lives. There are the connections there just on a social basis and on a cultural basis. The understanding that they try and put out in a technical form and signed documents as to what is there and what is represented, we have the knowledge and always have. The understanding of how sacred that place is as protectors of that country which is the Roe family or the Goolarabooloo people ... You are taking away that connection from us by saying this is insignificant, and won't affect the lifestyle in Broome and they have things in place for dealing with it. They can't because they cannot disconnect us from that (ABC Kimberley 2012, n.p.).

These representations are placed in stark contrast to those made by the Premier: "I understand Joseph Roe's point of view, I've met with him twice. He's understandably very emotionally attached to this land. But this is a pinprick on a peninsula" (Whitmont 2010, n.p.). The analogy of a "pinprick" can also be contrasted with references at the local, state and national scale describing the project as "one of the largest industrial projects in Australia's history and will become the largest gas hub in the world" (Lindsay 2012). The importance of James Price Point to some segments of the local community appeared to be the single most important driver of the conflict.

For other locals and environmental organisations, the manner in which the local scale of James Price Point was connected with the regional scale, and in particular, the manner in which the wider campaign set about industrialising the Kimberley caused concern. For example, the Wilderness Society director explained how "if we lose here, the whole of the Kimberley will be at threat" (Lloyd 2011b, n.p.). Similarly, for another local resident, Mark Jones, it was the idea that "James Price Point [was the] stalking horse for the wider industrialisation of the Kimberley that worried [him] the most", referring specifically to the Premier's and previous State Governments' desires for the Kimberley to underpin the state economy (Harvey and Prior 2011, n.p.). Similarly, the director of *Save the Kimberley* Peter

Tucker, likened James Price Point to a “head of an octopus” providing the required energy and port access to facilitate the exploration, development and export of the vast mineral resources in the Kimberley (Lloyd 2012, n.p.). Yet, Woodside’s Chairman targeted protestors’ claims as unfounded, by reducing James Price Point to its local scale and ignoring the significance of its social connections at the regional scale:

Their slogan is ‘Save the Kimberley’ and you can see that on bumper stickers and placards and so on. Their dominant message is that this development will destroy the region’s pristine wilderness. The problem with the protestors’ argument is that the proposed James Price Point gas processing plant is insignificant in size and isn’t even located within the Kimberley plateau (Chaney 2011, n.p).

The other ‘environmental’ concern relates to the potential wider-ranging health impacts created by the LNG precinct. The Browse fields are considered “dirty gas with up to 10 per cent levels of carbon dioxide,⁴² as well as other harmful chemicals”⁴³ (Interview with Small Business owner in the Broome), including an “amount of cancer-causing benzene emitted [...] up to 40 times the amount released from the entire Kwinana industrial strip” (Hansard Assembly 2011c, 27). There is also the concern that air pollution monitoring regimes lack regulatory enforcement (Commonwealth of Australia 2009; Interview with Greens MP). In response, the State Government countered with government bureaucratic discourse, by either discrediting the sources of the information (e.g. Alliance for Clean Environment (ACE), or highlighting the “comprehensive and rigorous regulatory regime for industrial development” (Shire of Broome 2011, 3). In the example below, Woodside responded to the Shire of Broome’s request for information about air pollution impacts by drawing upon a strategic use of scale, inferring that global, national, regional and local effects are too intertwined to distinguish analytically, and therefore negating the company’s responsibilities beyond that of compliance:

⁴² Gas fields with carbon dioxide content around 10 per cent and higher are considered high levels (Klinger 2013).

⁴³ The participant reported this during a meeting with Woodside employees as pollution levels have a direct impact on this participant’s business.

These gases are present in the atmosphere and come from a range of sources including bushfires, power stations, motor vehicles, petrol stations and bore water. LNG facilities are also sources, and the Strategic Assessment Report contains a comprehensive analysis of the expected air quality impact of the Precinct. Air quality modelling conducted for the Strategic Assessment found that bush fires are the dominant source of regional air pollutants, and this will continue to be the case should LNG production start up at the Precinct (Shire of Broome 2011, 2).

As a consequence, community members feel that the State Government and Woodside have a strategy to “lessen the importance of all the things in the area of concern to the local community because that would give them more hurdles to have to jump through” (Interview with local Broome resident).

In summary, this section demonstrates how the CSR space in the case is more complex and deeply felt than the construct created by the State Government and Woodside. In particular, the stark contrast between the State Government’s and Woodside’s interpretations of James Price Point as a piece of land separate from its intangible context was especially revealing. It is evident that James Price Point is a place of significance for many people in Broome, making the site an untradeable commodity. Some segments of the local community were worried about the environmental and health impacts, in addition to impacts on recreational use and cultural meanings.

While the State Government claimed to have subjected the proposed development to a rigorous environmental process, the claims of inadequate environmental assessments – especially the suggestion for a less-than-complete environmental assessment for progress to occur – signals the way the treatment of the environment is clouded by underlying economic agendas. It was also apparent in the way the concern surrounding air pollution was tacitly reduced by the usual ‘rigorous assessment’ discourse of the State Government, and the strategic use of scale for justifying the impact of air pollution by Woodside, resulting in little real engagement with the issues.

7.4 The Lived CSR Space – Social Cohesion

In a space not governed by rules or laws, socio-psychological impacts of the case were evident. Insert 16 describes demonstrates the impact the proposal had on various residents within the community, noting relationship and family breakdowns and personal scars. Traditional Owners in support have been racially vilified and Woodside had released a statement to the local community over claims their workers were receiving threatening and intimidating behaviour (Taylor 2011). These divisions are not only apparent among GJJ Traditional Owners, but throughout the local Broome community. As Bishop Saunders explains:

People are being attacked – I wouldn't say physically, but close to it ... I know a family who are very much vocally opposed to the gas who have been abused by someone in favour of it" (Harvey and Prior 2011, n.p.).

Local Aboriginal music identity Alan Pigram suggests there will be long term implications as a result of these divisions in Broome: "this anger will transfer to generations to come" (ABC Kimberley 2012, n.p.).

Local Broome Resident

“The social impacts are happening now, it has divided the community. It is terribly sad that families have split. There are many families involved” (participant interview).

Catholic Bishop Christopher Saunders

“It's father and son, it's brother and brother, its clan against clan ... What we are saying is people are being hurt and damaged in terms of their relationships and we want to avoid that sort of damage in the community and say to people listen, it's time to heal the divide” (ABC news 2011b, n.p.).

ABC media reports

“Children tell parents they should protect the environment, that they are doing the wrong thing. Husbands and wives avoid talking about the issue after the big blue they had last time” (Collins 2011c, n.p.).

Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner

“It's very difficult to live here. I've got a first cousin who won't talk to me and that first cousin from my father's side and they won't talk to me. They will walk straight past so they have taken it personally, families everything. It has been very difficult for us Jabbir-Jabbir people, especially me as I have taken a greater involvement in the project” (Interview with Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner).

Insert 16: The Socio-psychological Impacts of James Price Point Case

For some people in Broome, the impacts were not merely a side-effect: “this gas plant has really divided the community, as it was intended to” (Interview with local Broome resident). Kemp et al. (2011) suggest that it is not uncommon for resource project proponents to use tactics or strategies to create deeper animosity. However, it has also become apparent that the project had galvanised Broome's community spirit and sense of place, as James Brown, manager of Cedar Bay Pearls explains: “Barnett has woken the sleeping dragon of Broome. I have been coming to and from Broome my whole life and I have never felt the town spirit like it is now” (Lloyd 2011b, n.p.). Nevertheless, the proponent's tactics were seen to have created ethical dilemmas for stakeholders, and in doing so, break the solidarity of these groups as described below:

It reminds me of that thing, not sure what it is called, but it is like throwing a handful of chips among a bunch of seagulls, it is sort of like a decoy, but it seems clear to me and they especially do it with Native Title groups, or should I say Aboriginal groups that may spawn Native Title claims from within them. They throw some money at them and they do it in the most benign way – in terms of community development or something like that, but the effect that it will have is really to create ethical dilemmas for people among that group, whether or not they take the money. I guess whilst the community is doing their own thing, that plurality or diversity of politics just exists, but as soon as they add money to fight over, then it all comes to the surface and becomes real. Like in the Pilbara, the resource companies, Rio or FMG, are so keen to put a million into a community here and there, I think that is what it is really about, effectively trying to drive a wedge within the politics and diminish their solidarity or unitary of those groups (Interview with senior government official).

Apparently, it was not only the LNG precinct at James Price Point, but also the impact that Woodside's presence had within the town that has affected some local residents. According to one resident:

Woodside's human resource strategy has been super clever. They have recruited some of the best people in town and have made it difficult for us to hate them [Woodside] in many ways. People who I have respected are now working for them (Interview with local Broome resident).

Corporate donations and sponsorship to local schools, the local football team and other similar causes, in addition to handing out rulers at schools, drink bottles and beach balls, reflect attempts at establishing good will, but also at "infiltrating the community" (Interview with local Broome resident). Insert 17 shows how some local Broome residents perceived the donations and sponsorships as conflicting:

Local Broome Residents

“The sponsorship and donations were very compromising and conflicting for people, you have to consider the gas, but they have to consider the cause. At the end of the day, it is not a gift without implications, and it actually had the effect of dividing the community” (Interview with local Broome resident).

“The cash donations represented a psychological strategy to shut people down and keep people quiet. The thing between learned helplessness and the money with the donations they have already worked out \$5,000 and \$10,000 lots don’t give them big money, give them little amounts” (Interview with local Broome resident).

Insert 17: Negative Responses toward Corporate Donations

One local resident spoke of people resigning from jobs in protest, as their employers had accepted donations from Woodside (Interview with local Broome resident). This provides some insight into why another local resident considered “one of the biggest challenges we faced is watching how a company could come into this town, and build this town anew with Woodside money” (Interview with local Broome resident). Apparently, a similar approach has been used in other resource regions:

In our community here, Woodside have done a lot of work, but only by giving small amounts out. That is what happens. You have Departments within companies that manage the local sentiment and give people money, they will spend it, and it keeps them quiet (Interview with business person in Karratha).

Critically, some community members reported feeling excluded and bullied during the process to develop an LNG precinct at James Price Point. For example:

We as in Broome the community, we are angry because we haven’t been consulted, we have been pushed aside, we haven’t been a part of the approvals process at all. There are alternatives and we have been bullied (Interview with local Broome resident).

Similarly, another felt that the State Government and Woodside had acted like “a bulldozer, absolutely determined to push this through, it is a juggernaut” (Interview with local Broome resident), telling local residents “it’s happening, it’s going to happen, it’s going to go ahead” (Interviews with local Broome Resident). Even one resident supportive of the project described the State Government as being “very active, but not as a mediator between the KLC and Woodside, but more of an instigator. They have tended to be very forceful” (Interview with local Broome resident).

As a consequence, there was the perception that stakeholders’ views other than the Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owners were disregarded, even while they had made some attempts to inform the wider community at stalls and meetings. As shown in Chapter 6, this process was influenced by an absolute spatial sensibility, which privileged property rights and particular land boundaries over any other connections. Therefore, the GJJ Traditional Owners – the official owners of the land at James Price Point – were the only ones afforded the opportunity to negotiate. This was highlighted as a critical concern for some Broome families as shown within the Insert 18 below:

Local Broome resident

“Right now there are Aboriginal ‘old Broome families’ that were terribly excluded from this process, waiting for this Jabirr-Jabirr group whoever they are, to make the decision. And they made the decision a month ago and then people who have lived here forever are saying – this is my town, where is my voice in all this?” (Interview with local Broome resident).

Alan Pigram, ‘old Broome families’

“We have not been approached by Nigel and the Woodside team. Is it important to them that we feel like this? Do they care about it? We don’t even have a sense that they care” (ABC Kimberley 2012, n.p.).

Kimberley Traditional Owner and ‘old Broome families’ member Anne

Peolina

“Our families built this town. We don’t believe the corporations have a right to just come here and destroy it. There has been considerable investment already in Broome to build that quality of life, and no one is coming to us and saying what is happening on the Peninsula is going to be of no risk to us” (Lloyd 2011b, n.p.).

Insert 18: The Exclusion Experienced by Residents within the Local Broome Community

These feelings of exclusion appear to be the result of the political construction of the social space noted in Chapter 6, which is also reflected in the way the Shire of Broome, the community’s political representatives, were excluded from the negotiations. The Shire of Broome President, Graham Campbell explained how: “we were not involved or requested to be a member of any confidential discussions between the State Government, Woodside, GJJ and KLC” (Shire of Broome 2013, 1). Furthermore, Insert 19 below demonstrates the anger and frustration felt by the Shire of Broome President in respect to the State Government’s actions facilitating this project:

Broome Shire President

“Why the hell don’t they [State Government] come out and say look, there is going to be an issue here, we are addressing it, we have to address it, it’s got to comply” (Prior 2011b, 7).

Broome Shire President

“Responses from Woodside tended to be quick, but Department of State Development and Politicians had been ‘reticent’ about responding to the Shire and the community. ‘Where are they in this matter? Are they letting us sit here and cop it? Of course they are ... People, rightfully so, are asking questions and they are not in their opinion getting the answers ... or the answers they are getting are sometimes convoluted and in government official speak ... it is fair to say that despite assurances from the Premier that the Shire will be an equal stakeholder in the proposed development, the Shire’s understanding of what is equal stakeholder and that of the State are different” (Prior 2011b, 7).

Insert 19: The Exclusion Experienced by the Shire of Broome

Wayne Bergmann criticised the little attention given by Woodside and the State Government to the potential social impacts: “the decision the Traditional Owners made is that development should not happen unless there are plans in place for dealing with the social impact ... and there are no plans in place for dealing with the impact” (Collins 2011d, n.p.). Some residents also felt very little effort was made in meaningfully engaging with the broader Broome community, and in particular, engaging with their concerns around the potential social impact. The project had been described by one resident as “unacceptable” and driven by “people who have come into this town who don’t understand. They don’t understand the town, they don’t understand the community” (Interview with local Broome resident). ‘No Gas’ campaigner Kandy Curran believed the proposed precinct would “smash Broome. It will take away the Broome and wilderness brand” (Lloyd 2011b, n.p.). With the speed at which these resource projects are being approved in Australia, Cleary (2011) asks just who is looking after the public interests. In this context, Kimberley Traditional Owner and scholar Dr Anne Peolina called for a more responsible process:

We want the process slowed down and have a real conversation about the issues. I think it's time to put all the information on the table ... we would like to know the full social impact, not only on Broome but on the surrounding areas. I am concerned that we aren't seeing the full information on the table. We haven't seen any whole of life mine planning. We can't sit down and say this is what is required, what are the community benefits, what are also the opportunity costs. What is it that we are going to be sacrificing? ... Lets sit down with Woodside, the JV partners, the Premier and put all the science on the table (ABC News 2012, n.p.).

However, the development ideology and underpinning economic rationality meant that there never was any option to say no; the impact of this was described in Insert 20:

Local Broome Residents

“One thing that upset me most of all is we don't seem to get a choice. We didn't get the option to say no. We live here because we want to live here and we love it and we love the way it is now and we accept that it is going to grow at a certain pace, but there has not been the option to say no” (Interview with local Broome resident).

“We, as in the Broome Community, are angry because we haven't been consulted, we have been pushed aside, we haven't been a part of the approvals process at all. There are alternatives and we have been bullied” (Interview with local Broome resident).

Insert 20: Resident Statements about the Lack of Choice

In summary, the social space was a complex and poorly understood aspect of this process. Much of the anger stemmed from the way the people of Broome, as the frontline resource community, were not included as stakeholders of significance. Decisions were made by a few key players that would influence an entire community who were given no opportunity to have input. Socio-psychological impacts were reported to be occurring at the time, along with a view that the residual anger could exist over generations. It is evident that the positive economic impacts postulated by the State Government and Woodside were being challenged by segments of the local

community, and were unreasonable in the context of the potential loss of the town's liveability, amenity and sense of place.

7.5 The Lived CSR Space – Economic Impacts

As noted in Chapter 6, the government construction of CSR was shaped around the provision of jobs and opportunities, particularly for Aboriginal people in the Kimberley. At the same time, the belief also existed that after “several years of financial prosperity, there were some businesses that were struggling and that Broome needed a shot in the arm” (Interview with Kimberley business owner). In this way, the State Government's resource-led strategy for economic recovery underpinned the sentiment that “they [State Government and Woodside] kept pushing the wheel barrow that this was going to be good for us and we are going to get this and that, it was all positive, but everything they said positive to us, was negative” (Interview with local Broome business owner). But, for one concerned resident, “if Broome needed to broaden its economic base, it needed to find industries that enhanced tourism, not overwhelmed it” (Interview with local Broome resident).

Concern existed among some business owners, particularly tourism operators, believing that they were vulnerable to the power and significance of the resources sector. This occurred even while the Premier continued to discursively construct the project in a ‘positive light’: as giving “stability to tourism. But it would not change the character of the Kimberley” (Prior and Williams 2011, n.p.). These concerns were also shared by Dr Michael Hughes from the Sustainable Tourism Research Centre at Curtin University, indicating that:

The LNG plant development would significantly undermine the image of the Kimberley as a nature-based and cultural tourism destination and seriously damage the multi-million dollar tourism sector that has taken decades to build (Hughes 2010, 5).

Similarly, the events at the local level evoked regional scale comparisons among some local Broome residents, citing the negative economic and social impacts of WA's resources ‘hotspot’, the Pilbara. For example: “as a tourist you

can't get much accommodation in Karratha and Port Hedland, yet the Pilbara as a tourist destination is beautiful ... It was a tourist destination before the massive wave of industrialisation 20-30 years ago" (Interview with Kimberley business owner). Moreover, the recent boom in the resources sector in the Pilbara since 2003 was seen to have created an 'un-diversification' of the economy:

What we found out here the resource stripped a lot of local workers and also stripped a lot of the accommodation, then you have very high rentals on accommodation and very little room for workers for the small business community. A lot of small businesses had to close down or the value of their business dropped in value or to zero or still had to struggle through and just continue working ... There used to be some 14 or 15 restaurants, and it has gone down to 2 and a lot of the business that dealt with tourists just died. There was very little choice. Small business cannot survive in places like that (Interview with business owner in Karratha).

As a result, some locals have pointed to the State Government and Woodside's reticence in outlining strategies for managing the local economy. This appeared to be underpinned by an unequivocal belief that the impacts would be manageable:

Would this be any different? I don't get it, what has been said that is so different? If there are no significant strategies put in place to mitigate the impact on small business and the local economies in those areas, I can't see why that would change (Interview with business owner in the Kimberley).

The fear and anger of some residents has been further inflamed by the local Chamber of Commerce [hereafter the Chamber], who strongly supported the project. This support presumably complements the Chamber's association with development-orientated networks, such as the local development lobby, which brought together the Shire of Broome, Broome Port Authority, Kimberley Development Commission and the Chamber, as well as Woodside, the Chamber's diamond sponsor. "In Karratha, with a diamond sponsor, Woodside would give say \$10,000 to the Chamber, and you then can't criticise or lobby against them, it is very sophisticated how this is all done. So if you find there is a diamond sponsorship by Woodside in Broome, you would think it has implications and the organisation is no longer independent" (Interview with business owner in Karratha). This situation had

inflamed already existing tensions among the local community, as their concerns, about the potentially negative impact on small businesses, were perceived to be no longer represented.

This was especially the case when, in December 2010, the Chamber President Tony Proctor was criticised for representing the “big end of town” (Prior 2010b, n.p.). This occurred after the Chamber took out a full page advertisement in the local paper supporting the Premier’s decision to compulsory acquire the land (Prior 2010b, n.p.). This was in strong contrast to a similar situation involving that of Darwin’s Chamber of Commerce, where the proposal for an LNG precinct by Japanese company Inpex was described as a “freight train”, with the Chamber warning Darwin business owners to be prepared (Wild 2011). As a consequence, a small business owner raised concern about the LNG precinct’s impact in Broome when:

You have a Chamber of Commerce in a town five times the size of Broome talking about a project 1/10th the size of JPP raising alarm and our Chamber is saying nothing but praise for this project (Interview with small business owner).

Given that the ‘mantra’ of jobs and opportunities had been carefully constructed as the main CSR message, some local residents also questioned how many jobs would actually be for the locals. This can be placed in a broader context, where there has been ongoing debate about the extent of local content in resource development projects.⁴⁴ Despite the CSR promises from the Gorgon LNG precinct, Chris Tallentire, Labor MP for Gosnells, in a parliamentary address, explained how disappointed he was with the level of local content:

They promised an awful lot during the approvals process for the Gorgon project. They said that there would be local content; it would be fantastic and it would be a completely different project for Western Australia, that it would lift us to new levels with the amount of local content that we would have here. But we have got nothing. I have said where is all the

⁴⁴ The *Skilled Jobs (Benefit from the Boom) bill 2012* illustrates the structural barriers to local participation. It was also set up to encourage companies to disclose how much local content is being used as opposed to prescriptive measures over how much local content must be used.

work is going? It is going to Thailand, Batam Island and China. We are getting nothing with engineering (Hansard Assembly 2010, 11).

Similarly, as WA Labor MP Tom Stephens suggested in a parliamentary address, that there had been a long history of broken promises in the resources sector:

I place on record that in the early 1980s Woodside came to people like me and my party, in opposition and then in government, seeking and obtaining our support for its developments in the Burrup, having given assurances and promises about Woodside's commitment to train and employ Indigenous people in that part of the world. Woodside said that it would contribute to the protection of heritage sites and build cultural heritage facilities in places such as Roebourne. As I look back over those 30 years, I see a trail of broken promises and a failure to deliver on commitments, although recently Woodside has upped it a notch and focused on the commitments that it made so many decades ago now (Hansard Assembly 2012, 7).

These quotes illustrate the effects of neoliberalism acting on the governance of CSR, as shown by the political unwillingness to hold resource companies to account. Similarly, the company's accountability for core responsibilities such as Aboriginal employment appears to be increasingly outsourced to local contractors, as a local Woodside contractor explains:

The question I get asked all the time when I meet with Greg Paton, a senior executive within Woodside, is how am I going with employing Aboriginals? ... So far I have only got one, but that is his first question because he wants to count our Aboriginal employees as one of theirs ... They are really saying he is one of our guys (Interview with local Broome resident).

In summary, the State Government and Woodside made many promises about the positive economic benefits created by the proposed LNG precinct, with minimal acknowledgement of the potentially negative economic costs. These benefits, however, are open to question when regional comparisons are drawn and when placed in a broader context. Further questions stimulate current debates about local content and query a history of broken promises.

7.6 The Lived CSR Space – Community Relations Tactics

The manner in which the State and Federal Governments and Woodside have represented the Broome community in their public discourses, has contributed to the lived CSR experience. With the ongoing public controversy that surrounded the LNG precinct, those working on the frontline (in information stalls and community sessions, participating in protests, marches and camping at the Manari Road camp) were increasingly stereotyped as “hippies who should get a job” or “feral lazy people” (Collins 2011c, n.p.; Prior 2011c, n.p.). Woodside’s Chairman Michael Chaney referred to the “antagonists” involved in protests at the Old Growth Forrest Logging debate in the South West, the BHP Billiton Ok Tedi mine, and James Price Point as “the green movement”; as one way of simplifying the issues within the CSR space (Chaney 2011, n.p.). Chaney also implied that the activists’ concerns were self-serving: “I have observed in my dealing with such activists they almost always seem to rank their environmental cause above people or the interest of people”. He proceeded to repeat Wayne Bergmann’s comment that, “the greens ignore people, culture and our right to participate in the economy. And they haven’t even got it right on the environment” (2011, n.p.).

In this way, Woodside’s Chairman framed the debate in environmental terms, and showed a disregard of the connections between the environment and people, particularly on cultural, social, recreational and historical grounds. Such crude representations also discount the complexity of the CSR space, particularly in their inability to acknowledge potential negative social and economic impacts on Broome itself. Chaney has also employed simplistic absolute spatial sensibilities demonstrated in the way the LNG precinct is presented as having little impact beyond the land and waters of James Price Point. These are deliberate constructions of CSR that elevate the socio-economic benefits over the management of costs and impacts, and provide crucial insight into contemporary CSR practice.

Stereotypes were also exercised within the senior levels of government, where the former Federal Resources Minister Martin Ferguson suggested that:

You find that a lot of those people opposing James Price Point are the more privileged people in the community – people who have well paying

jobs and are, in many ways, economically emancipated (Emery 2011, n.p.).

A participant reflected on a meeting organised by the ‘old Broome families’ in Canberra with Martin Ferguson, where it was implied that “those that are leading the ‘No Gas’ campaigns (the old Broome families) are middle class blacks – Anne Peolina, Alan Pigram, Mitch Torres – who don’t know what they are talking about” (Interview with local Aboriginal resident). The media is also a critical player in these frames: “for many, it is unabashed self-interest – they live in Broome for the lifestyle and don’t want it to change” (Harvey and Prior 2011, n.p.), and The West Australian newspaper reporter Tony Barrass described the individuals protesting as “wealthy whites” and the controversy that surrounded the case as blatant “self-interest” (Barrass 2011, n.p.). The reference to “wealthy whites” is particularly interesting, as it emerged with the development of right-wing economic discourse since the mid-1990s. Barrass (2011, n.p.) also belittled community concerns: “we don’t want our town to change, we don’t want gas workers everywhere, we don’t want to pay higher rents, we don’t want inflated house prices, we don’t want this, we don’t want that”; undoubtedly, such changes would negatively impact on the poorer people in Broome as well.

Thus, language use was critical in shaping public perceptions and community relations tactics:

It is all about psychology ... you de-humanise the situation, and also call them greenies, tree huggers, all this sort of stuff because you then put them into a box which the common mass of people say “oh just them”. They don’t see it’s the everyday people (Interview with business owner in Karratha).

The ‘everyday person’ is also a discursive political construct that seems to demand more political and media attention than the ‘tree-hugging hippies’. The usage of this appears to be a common tactic by industry and government when opposition to resource projects arise, as exemplified by the resource development on the Pilbara’s Burrup Peninsula:

In the Burrup rock art campaign, we had mass support for the rock art and again they were profiled as greenies/environmentalists, but they

weren't. There were 6,000 scientists from around the world, there were also middle-class type people supporting it, and academics as well. They were classed as just 'the greenies' and at one stage they even brought the Federal police up to interview people. "Are you a greenie, are you going to sabotage Woodside's facility?" They were more concerned about the property rights of a company than about the feelings of people about what the company could do to the land (Interview with business owner in Karratha).

As a result, the examples shown in Insert 21 have captured the way the State Government and Woodside have employed a weak form of CSR, as a result of the political process, their management of community concerns and the strength of the development agenda:

Local Broome Resident

"A lot of pieces have made me angry and upset ... People in Perth don't understand what the fight is about. They see people wanting to block development everyone says it – 'then stop driving your car then, the gas has to go somewhere'. So we have been painted as being rich, then a bunch of smelly hippies, painted as just a loud minority and not often are we painted as just a cross section of Broome community that don't like the way it's going ahead, don't like the way we are being bullied" (Interview with local Broome resident).

Kimberley Traditional Owner, Dr Anne Peolina

"We are not anti-development, just anti-unethical development. We see a few people in positions of power dictating how development should proceed in northern Australia" (Murdoch 2011, n.p.).

Goolarabooloo Traditional Owner

"The Broome Community says no. They're not feral lazy people ... We think what you're doing is immoral, illegal and unethical" (Prior and Williams 2011, n.p.).

Insert 21: Some Community Perceptions of CSR

7.7 Chapter Conclusion

Through this chapter, insight was gained into the lived CSR experience through varying CSR issues and community relations tactics. Table 9 provides a summary of key CSR themes, followed by comments and illustrative quotes. The James Price Point case was shown to have been a battle between a heterogeneous frontline community and Woodside's and the State Government's strong approach to economic development. In relation to Aboriginal development, even though some Traditional Owners had been supportive of the game-changing nature of the project, few stated support for how the process occurred. The 'CSR space' therefore appeared to be underpinned by a prevailing development agenda, placing pressure on the political process and resulting in a 'forced' positive outcome. From an environmental point of view, it became evident that there was a vast disconnect between the relational connections of the land and waters at James Price Point, and the State Government's and Woodside's refusal to engage with these concerns.

The social space revealed a breakdown of community ties, between those for and those against the project. The lack of State Government sympathy for the social space, and the economic framing of liveability, meant that strategies to protect liveability and sense of place were not adequately considered. Similarly, the 'mantra' of jobs and economic opportunities had failed to overshadow a debate about any potentially negative economic costs. Public discourse was also demonstrated to isolate those in opposition from the 'everyday' person, as a critical strategy.

In the next chapter, findings from Chapters 5, 6, and 7 will be discussed as a whole in context with the literature presented in Chapters 2 and 3.

Table 9: Summary of key CSR themes

Key CSR Themes	Findings	Illustrative Quote
Aboriginal development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> An underlying and prevailing development agenda left Traditional Owners feeling bullied, uninformed and with the sense of ‘fighting’ against the State Government and Woodside, 	<p>“The process involving KLC, Woodside and State was one of bullying. You must understand that we were pushed through ... The lack of information that flowed down from State and Woodside to KLC [...] meant that all the claimants were given information that wasn’t enough to make them fully informed and to give a consent vote that was fully informed. That is one of the process things that really fell down for us” (ABC News 2011a, n.p.)</p>
Environmental protection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> An evident failure to understand the environmental (and social, cultural, spiritual) importance of the land at James Price Point. 	<p>“The place they have picked is like something that is so close to us that we are integrated to it. We are not removed from it, we are part of it. So, that concept of picking that particular place is the key issue more than anything to Broome families... (ABC Kimberley 2012, n.p)</p>
Social cohesion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The James Price Point case threatened community cohesion and brought about deep divisions between community groups in support of or speaking against the proposed LNG precinct 	<p>“The social impacts are happening now, it has divided the community. It is terribly sad that families have split. There are many families involved” (participant interview)</p> <p>“It’s very difficult to live here. I’ve got a first cousin who won’t talk to me and that first cousin from my father’s side and they won’t talk to me. They will walk straight past so they have taken it personally, families everything. It has been very difficult for us Jabbir-Jabbir people, especially me as I have taken a greater involvement in the project” (Interview with Jabirr-Jabirr Traditional Owner)</p>

Key CSR Themes	Findings	Illustrative Quote
Economic Impacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resource development presented as a vehicle to boost local development and Aboriginal employment against a long history of broken promises and contradicting local evidence. 	<p>“A lot of small businesses had to close down or the value of their business dropped in value or to zero or still had to struggle through and just continue working” (Interview with business owner in Karratha)</p> <p>“I see a trail of broken promises and a failure to deliver on commitments” (Hansard Assembly 2012, 7)</p>
Community Relations Tactics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community protest framed as hypocritical, selfish and unreasonable 	<p>“So we have been painted as being rich, then a bunch of smelly hippies, painted as just a loud minority” (Interview with local Broome resident)</p> <p>“For many, it is unabashed self-interest – they live in Broome for the lifestyle and don’t want it to change” (Harvey and Prior 2011, n.p)</p>

CHAPTER 8 DISCUSSION

8.1 Introduction

On April 12, 2013, Woodside announced for commercial reasons that it would not be using the proposed LNG precinct at James Price Point for processing the gas from the Browse Basin fields. The company agreed to a limited compensation payment to GJJ Traditional Owners of about \$18 million, pointing out that the full package, as outlined in the Indigenous Land Use Agreement, would have been contingent on the project going ahead. The State Government is still considering compulsory acquisition of the land at James Price Point from the GJJ Traditional Owners under the terms of the agreement (about \$30 million), in the event that Woodside agrees on a smaller development concept, or that other LNG companies take up lease at the Government precinct. As a result of this decision, chief negotiator Wayne Bergmann called upon Woodside and the State Government to honour the Indigenous Land Use Agreement in full, stating: “I believe they have an obligation morally. It’s not about our legal rights. It’s about their social licence to operate” (AAP and Wilson-Chapman 2012, n.p.). This quote is especially revealing as it draws attention to the ideological undertones identified within this thesis that were shown to ‘flavour’ the enactment of CSR in WA. In this thesis, I argued that CSR is best understood as having been constituted historically from discursive, political and institutional forces, alongside prevailing values and assumptions, and also relations of power at the level of the political economy.

A conceptual ‘spaces of CSR’ framework was introduced in this thesis for critically analysing the politico-economic ‘system’ that surrounds the James Price Point conflict. The argument was presented that the theories of governmentality and spatiality are useful sense-making devices for revealing the underlying dynamics behind the conflicts surrounding resource development projects. In Chapter 5, the ‘system’ that underpins the governance of CSR was outlined. In Chapter 6, the relations and practices between the resources sector, State Government and communities of interest were critically analysed through texts and statements

produced by the key CSR actors, in relation to prominent themes of the CSR discourse pertaining to the case: Aboriginal development, environmental protection and social cohesion. Chapter 7 explored how this system ‘played out’ in the lived CSR experience of the Broome community. This exploration identified critical clues about the way ideology and relations of power characterised the enactment of CSR in WA; especially, the impact of neoliberal governmentality and WA’s development ideology. This chapter brings together the previous analytical chapters with the intention of identifying the inherent key challenges and contradictions shaping the interaction of the resources sector, government and communities. This chapter is structured around the research’s key aims: governmental rationalities (the visibility of CSR and prevailing truths); governmental technologies (the practices that define CSR governance); governmental spatial imaginaries (spatial metaphors enacted within CSR); and the lived experience (the way CSR was felt on the ground). This chapter will conclude with a discussion on the implications of the findings for CSR scholarship.

8.2 Governmental Rationalities: CSR Governance in Australia

The theory underpinning the political economy of CSR presents the view that CSR is not a simple business decision but subject to a complex interplay of forces, pressures and flows which shape its enactment. It was the stated purpose of this thesis to deconstruct the system that prescribes how the resource sector, government and community spheres interact and, in particular, to understand how Australia and WA govern the CSR space. According to an increasing number of contemporary CSR researchers (e.g. Vallentin and Murillo 2008, 2009, 2012; Blowfield and Dolan 2008; Shamir 2008), a *neoliberal governmentality* strongly shapes the relations between industry, government and community.

An exploration of CSR governance at the Federal level demonstrated how policy discourse was a fairly recent development, despite its progressive expansion at international public policy and corporate levels. This is significant because the prevailing silence on the issue of CSR governance until recently is suggestive of a political economy that was/is biased toward economic interests over societal ones.

As discussed in Chapter 5, a new economic discourse emerged in Australia through highly significant political transformations that occurred in the 1980s; changes which were seen to strongly favour business, and have since set the path for a complex set of relations and practices that are underpinned by a hegemonic economic rationality (see Pusey 2003a, 2003b).

As Chapter 5 demonstrated, it was only in 2005 that any significant political debate emerged about CSR at the Federal level. This led to the 2005/2006 *Corporate Responsibility: Managing Risk and Creating Value Forum* (or, the Forum), which revealed the way ideology, power and key rationales underpin CSR governance. It spoke of a certain neoliberal CSR brand, and identified a highly significant network of actors that were key architects in circulating this brand. These qualities were principally reflected in the endorsement of the continuing voluntary and self-regulatory nature of CSR. This stemmed from the discourses of fear instilled by highly influential corporate coalitions, which suggested a mandatory CSR would risk economic growth and entrepreneurial creativity.

In using Fox's (2004) government roles for CSR, the Forum was shown to encourage and facilitate this brand of CSR: one that is strategic and most palatable to the business psyche. From its title through to the closing statements of the Forum, its message stated that practising CSR was positive for risk management, competitiveness and profitability, and should therefore be implemented only for commercial advantage, rather than for the community benefit. However, with the saturation of the 'win-win' ideology in academic, business and government spheres in Australia, CSR was also being promoted as being good for business and good for the community. However, Vallentin (2012, 23) seems justified in asserting that there is a new and emerging "seductive truth" about CSR, where it is presented to be "good for business and good for the economy" (note the change in language use from 'community' to 'economy'). It appears that it is just a matter of semantics, as the "good for business and good for the community" slogan, used by the then newly elected Labor Government in 2007, has conflated the economic and social spheres, creating an economically 'flavoured' CSR space. As neoliberal ideologies tend to define the entire social sphere as an economic domain (Dean 2008), the neoliberal lens thus becomes a key structural feature of CSR.

A free market philosophy is justified based on economic, employment and income growth, economic development, innovation, efficiency, competitiveness, productivity, socio-economic wellbeing and due diligence for risk (Harvey 2005b; Head 1988; Kenworthy 2004; O’Conner *et al.* 2001). At the Federal level, CSR was endorsed using similar concepts about competitiveness, risk and profitability. As a direct result of the power and influence of industry, Chapter 5 pointed to an inherent economic truth acting within CSR, where the true moral and ethical connotations were ‘hijacked’ and replaced with the creation of jobs, income, taxation, the provision of goods and services, and other purely economic opportunities created by industry. This was most evident in the Business Council for Australia’s suggestion that the greatest social contribution lies in industry’s ability to create wealth and economic opportunities. In Chapter 5, this ideology also became visible in the discursive field of government and industry that surrounded the production and expansion of the LNG industry, and contained the rationale that linking economic development with poverty alleviation deemed the extraction of LNG ‘socially responsible’.

Some commentators suggest that in jurisdictions where neoliberal policies of privatisation and de-regulation prevail, multinational corporations can hold enormous power and influence over politico-economic spaces (Amba-Roa 1993). In fact, in some instances they can hold state-like roles and become political actors (Matten and Crane 2005). In Australia and WA specifically, industry is an influential player in the political realm. Chapter 5 traced Australia’s political-economy, and how politics, society and the economy intersected with the ideals of progress and development (Head 1986). This was illustrated, for example, by showing how the government invested heavily in infrastructure works so as to encourage private sector growth and foreign capital (Butlin 1959; Loveday 1975). This kind of political economy seemed to stem from the conflation of the desirable political priorities of progress and development along with industry’s growth orientation. These characteristics are significant enough to suggest that industry, in fact, is the key architect of CSR in Australia. As a consequence, the governable space for CSR – as shaped at the Federal level – is geared toward business needs as opposed to the moral, ethical and altruistic foundations implied by early formulations of CSR.

8.3 Governmental Rationalities: Western Australia

Brenner and Theodore (2002, 189) speak of a “hybrid” landscape of neoliberalism which suggests that Federal and State constructions of CSR are implicated in versions of “actually existing neoliberalism”. This is as much to do with “legacies of inherited institutional frameworks, policy regimes, regulatory practices, and political struggles” as it concerns the kind of “neoliberal, market-oriented restructuring projects” (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 351). Therefore, local contingencies determine how CSR is socially valued and practically organised in WA. Harman and Head suggested in 1982 that neoliberal, frontier and local contingencies prevailed in WA, creating a unique and characteristic space for the enactment of CSR and its experience.

The findings of the research demonstrated the workings of neoliberal governmentality in the relations between industry, government and community within the James Price Point case. Inherent within this governmentality is the practice of governing at a distance (Miller and Rose 2008). The ideology suggests that the market is not the place for the state to intervene, but to govern by establishing “the market’s parameters, [to] monitor its outcomes and consequently adjust these parameters to achieve the most optimal results” (Fletcher 2010, 173). Therefore, there is “permanent vigilance, activity and intervention” (Foucault 2008, 132), and the state will employ diverse and heterogeneous forms of power (Dean 2002) that can be strong, active, interventionist, and coercive in character (Cahill 2007). In contrast to strict *laissez-faire* interpretations of neoliberalism, scholars of existing neoliberalism suggest that the state intervenes to create profitable and enabling environments; in other words, to act as agents of development (Fletcher 2010; Foucault 2008; Moore 1999). In fact, intervention appears to be a central feature of neoliberalism for the creation of specific ends.

In the James Price Point case, neoliberalism was not only evident in the state’s retreat from CSR governance, but also in its direct intervention and active facilitation of the proposal. The discourse of the State Government certainly provided many examples of neoliberalism, especially in its emphasis on reducing ‘red tape’ obstacles to investment and streamlining resource-development approval

processes to be more efficient and welcoming for industry. These key words emerged as ‘code’ for making it easier for resource development projects to be approved. However, it was also equally evident that the State Government demonstrated an authoritarian, interventionist and coercive character. Indeed, the State elevated its nominally governing role to that of ‘precinct proponent’ in order to remove complex impediments (social-cultural-ecological). The strong desire to promote capitalist freedom (Cahill 2007) was also demonstrated in initiation of compulsory acquisition of the land and waters of James Price Point. This State Government action seemed to have strongly influenced the outcome of legal negotiations with Traditional Owners by restricting Aboriginal freedoms. This is an important point that will be discussed in more detail later.

As was shown in politico-economic history presented in Chapter 5, the State’s very active involvement was an essential characteristic of practising neoliberalism in WA, especially in relation to resources development. While international examples show this is by no means unique to WA (Cahill 2007; O’Tuathail *et al.* 1998), it does seem to be especially active in the state. A historically constituted development ideology, in existence since WA’s foundation, placed the resources sector in an incredibly powerful position – a fact that seemed to be strongly evident in the case. This development ideology was identifiable within the political aspirations of the State Government, especially within the discourses of pro-development and the desire to be the leading mining economy. A path was set for expansion of the ideology across all resource industries, as reflected also in the decision to overturn long-term uranium mining bans in WA in 2008 (ABC News 2008). The ideology also seemed to be closely associated with long-held assumptions that resource development – as a part of the ‘real economy’ – has enormous economic benefits with few negative effects (Head 1984), despite recent ongoing debates about the social, cultural, economic and ecological impacts. Naturally, this process served to marginalise any alternative debates, for instance, about the role of the tourism sector (where employment seemingly was not considered to be ‘real’) in the social betterment of Aboriginal people.

The research findings suggested that alongside this strong and persuasive development ideology, another long-held “seductive truth” could be found (Vallentin

2012, 23): that the resources sector is critically important in closing the gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians. This led to a consistent CSR message framing the James Price Point case – with its ability to provide ‘real’ jobs and opportunities – as, in fact, a form of social responsibility. A weakened form of CSR emerged, which further indicated a neoliberal ideology, whereas Fletcher (2010) noted that economic growth was encouraged as a vehicle to deal with social justice concerns. As Foucault suggested, neoliberalism’s “one true and fundamental social policy” (2008, 144) is economic growth. Therefore, with this view, Federal and State Governments together with industry saw themselves as having a moral obligation to actively facilitate resource expansion, even when the State Government and industry did not have interest in obtaining a complete understanding of social, environmental and economic impacts. In this way, it was the underlying economic rationality that not only drove moral behaviour and thought, but set the tone for thinking what was being done was moral and right (Brooks 2010). This was a striking example of the “friendly face of corporate capitalism” practised within WA (Doane and Abastavilaplana 2005, 23). When the lives of Aboriginal people were used as the main CSR ‘playing card’ for resource expansion, this revealed that a balanced discussion about the real meaning of CSR – both to Aboriginal Australians and to the wider community – was hardly touched upon (Wesley and MacCallum forthcoming).

The research findings point to the encouragement of a kind of CSR that placed the economic empowerment of Aboriginal people as central. These neoliberal values, espoused by chief negotiator Wayne Bergmann, could be traced to a higher order national discourse espoused by Noel Pearson, among others, who strongly pushed for economic responsibility toward Aboriginal people and the role of the resources sector in that vision. As a consequence, in the James Price Point case, CSR was identified in the discourse about jobs and opportunities, through training, employment, and other business development opportunities, which were the legal obligations of the Indigenous Land Use Agreements.

The problem with such reasoning is that it allows for a weak form of CSR, a space in which hitherto ‘normal’ demands on resource companies (such as paying tax, supplying construction worker housing, employing local labour or compensating Traditional Owners) can be reframed as evidence of corporate generosity (cf.

Howlett *et al.* 2011; Wesley and MacCallum forthcoming). Indeed, Woodside's Chairman Michael Chaney defended the project as "ethical", and spoke of those opposed to the project as "immoral" (Chaney 2011). Woodside's recent preference for floating LNG platforms, which provide no direct benefit to Aboriginal people in the Kimberley, demonstrates the disingenuousness of these ethical discourses, and how social issues are subordinate to profits. The State Government called this decision a "tragedy" for Aboriginal people (AAP Financial 2013), but failed to explicitly place responsibility for the tragedy on Woodside. It seems that Wayne Bergmann is the only one who has publicly suggested that Woodside has a moral responsibility to see that the benefits of the development are realised. As a result, this suggests that the neoliberal space of CSR will never be larger than the corporation's obligation to increase its profits (Wesley and MacCallum forthcoming).

Lastly, there is another economic lens that emerges within the ideological characterisation of CSR. The utilitarian teleology of the 'greatest good for the greatest number', which underpins economic thought, was used as a strategy for defending the project, and failed to capture the concerns of marginalised community interests. This is the "blinker view" of economic rationality over what constitutes benefits (Noon 2007, 777). In fact, for those community members opposed to the project on various grounds, the Federal and State Governments and Woodside portrayed their actions as selfish and irresponsible. By creating this discursive space of 'irresponsibility', this "seductive truth" (Vallentin 2012, 23) legitimised the weak form of CSR noted earlier, and its proponents were deemed socially responsible.

8.4 Governmental Practices: Technologies of CSR Governance

Foucault spoke about power as "strategic games" in the way it structures the possible field of actions (Foucault 1988, 168). This can take many forms including ideological manipulation, the discourse of rational arguments, moral advice or dominant exploitation (Lemke 2002). The evidence points to the existence of a development ideology, a real economic rationality, a functioning neoliberal ethos and a systemic "seductive truth" (Vallentin 2012, 23) that links social betterment with resource development; these are defining features of a political economy in

which power is skewed toward the interests of corporate and economic elites over social ones. This is also being facilitated by a historical closeness between industry and WA State Governments, which can be described as a co-dependent relationship.

The state's practices in relation to James Price Point appeared to be shaped by these rationalities identified above. Explicit tactics were used to forcibly execute the conditions necessary to achieve the desired political outcomes. These include: 1) the pre-emptive decision to select North Head as the proposed location before the EPA deemed the site too environmentally and culturally significant, 2) the pressure applied within the Native Title process to force a desired outcome (i.e. compulsory acquisition, incomplete genealogies), and 3) the way the State Government was described by some as being forceful and a 'bully' in its relations with the local Broome community. These tactics were all constitutive of a strategic game of power in which the freedom of individual choice was constrained by political and industry imperatives. Critically, the State Government sought to determine the conduct of GJJ Traditional Owners through offers of economic incentives and the provision of fundamental aspects of life (health, education, housing), and when these offers were resisted, issued the threat of compulsory acquisition. While Lemke (2002) suggests that power relations are not always the result of a removal of liberty, in the James Price Point case, the act of compulsory acquisition was intended to structure the field of possible actions. It appears that negotiating with Traditional Owners was not an act of good faith but a technical instrument for gaining a 'legal' licence, not a 'social' one.

With the State Government's removal of the right to say no to resource projects on their Native Title lands, GJJ Traditional Owners had no choice but to accept the deal. With the State Government's suggestion that GJJ Traditional Owner's negotiations occurred in a framework of self-determination, it proved to be a case of "we will assist you to practice your freedom, as long as you practice it in our way" (Dean 2010, 188). Traditional Owners only had the opportunity to shape their own economic futures through access to the 'real economy', that is, resource development. This reflects Altman's (2009, 15) belief that "at the current historical moment, perhaps the choice offered to remote living Indigenous people is too influenced by the dominant logic of neoliberalism: engage with the mainstream as

individual subjects or miss out”. Similarly, Howlett *et al.* (2011) suggest that negotiations between mining companies, state governments and Aboriginal communities could be perceived as an outcome of neoliberal values, which facilitate the access of the market to Aboriginal lands. These authors also highlight how “Indigenous people exercise their agency in an explicitly capitalist framework, constituted and protected by a Western legal framework and create ‘choices’ about their negotiated gains, which are seemingly not linked to universal positive rights” (2011, 317-18). However, the threat of GJJ Traditional Owners missing out – especially since they were given little opportunities for economic and social emancipation – strongly placed them in serious ethical dilemmas involving considerable trade-offs.

In the process of rolling out neoliberalism (Peck and Tickell 2002), Fletcher (2010) suggested that a myriad of trends occur, including the growing prominence and power of non-government organisations. In the Kimberley, a new dynamic in the CSR landscape emerged with the presence and influence of the KLC. Following Sending and Neumann (2006), it is not only a question of acknowledging the existence of this new dynamic within CSR governance in the Kimberley, but also how power was gained and used within this context. As the representative body for Native Title in the Kimberley, government gave them recognised status, allowing the KLC to act as the ‘gatekeeper’ to Traditional Owners for the State Government and resource companies. This organisation found itself in the centre, negotiating all resource development and Native Title agreements in the Kimberley, and was actively encouraged and mobilised through political and industry support as a “development agent” (Blowfield 2012, 415). The KLC thus became a key instrument and advocate of resource development within the Kimberley, and in doing so, reinforced neoliberal ideas about Aboriginal people and economic responsibility achieved through resource development.

Moreover, the State Government’s practices for managing the environmental and social impact of mining also appeared to have been shaped by the prevailing logics outlined in the section above. For the management of the environment, these were framed by specific technologies of governance encoded in statute. While the State Government claimed to proceed with economic development without

compromising the environment, the research findings demonstrated the process was strongly influenced by the prevailing political climate, the relative power and status of the Ministers and portfolios (e.g. Environment versus State Development – the latter being currently occupied by the Premier himself) and public opinion. As a consequence, the way the findings showed how the economy ‘trumped’ the environment was a key reflection of a prevailing economic logic operating within the environmental sphere. This was also demonstrated by the belief that industry self-regulation was sufficient for environmental management, which was a key reflection of neoliberal values working to shape the ‘CSR space’ in WA. For the James Price Point case, these technologies of CSR governance seemed to subordinate the environmental sphere to economic interests, and this may have explained why the environmental impact reports for the precinct were criticised by some for being inadequate.

In WA, the lack of statutes surrounding the management of the social space suggests the existence of “ideational and epistemological premises” that have determined what impacts should be “itemised, measured, and accounted for” (Blowfield 2005a, 175). This exposed two key aspects: a preference for voluntary measures as a way to avoid additional layers of regulation and critical weaknesses in the interpretations and understandings of social impacts. The former was a key reflection of neoliberal values working to shape the space of CSR, while the latter drew attention to some strong ideological characterisations about what ‘social’ means. The concerns of some Broome residents including Wayne Bergmann, about protecting liveability and a sense of place, and any implied social responsibility in relation to those concerns, were neither addressed nor given importance. The State Government’s action to exclude the local Shire as a key stakeholder, and the Premier’s stated belief that the project would have few social impacts, were especially revealing. Critically, the evidence showed an implicit framing of ‘liveability’ through an economic lens and its narrow definition as economic opportunity.

As a consequence, the technologies of CSR governance were strongly influenced by a persuasive development ideology and a WA style of functioning neoliberalism. This meant that social and environmental concerns were subordinate

to economic priorities – themselves considered a sufficient form of social responsibility. In other words, economic emancipation was the primary social good (Dean 2010; Miller and Rose 2008). As a result, assessment processes received State Government scrutiny for their negative impacts on the pace of development as opposed to their effectiveness in protecting ecological and social environments. This reiterated a marked preference for self-regulation and also a belief in corporate exercises of ‘responsible’ practice. So even if there are negative impacts, according to this reasoning any sacrifices are for the greater good. The problem with this, however, was that local interests became ‘collateral’ to elite economic interests.

8.5 Governmental Spatial Imaginaries: Reimagining the Kimberley

While locations at James Price Point, Broome and the Kimberley could be referred to as ‘place’, ‘region’ and ‘locale’, in this thesis, they were referred to as a space – “abstract and concrete, produced and producing, imagined and materialized, structured and lived, relational, relative and absolute” (Merriman *et al.* 2012, 4). In Chapter 3, it was argued that space could be connected to the political-institutional context (Massey 2005) through its links with governmentality. To this end, spatial metaphors have proven critical in deepening the analysis of how CSR is constructed and experienced. The Kimberley region was represented as a “problem space”, a space of social dysfunction (Huxley 2006, 774). The wider context for this debate was a national policy shift from an ideal of self-determination to one of mutual obligation and economic independence, a discourse that strongly supports the engagement of Aboriginal people with the ‘real economy’ – often equated in remote regions with mining (Howlett *et al.* 2011). However, at the time, the Kimberley seemed to be receiving a disproportionate level of attention.

This attention seemed to have been underpinned by several key aspects. Firstly, as Chapter 5 noted, it appeared to be a political strategy intended to conceal broader development aims for the north of Western Australia; especially the Kimberley as a spatial imaginary with a significant economic trajectory, global reach and economic importance. Secondly, it provided a suitable discursive context, one

that resonated with the broader public audience, for defining what is ‘irresponsible’ (i.e. the protestors) and ‘responsible’ (Woodside and the State Government). Thirdly, and even more crucially, it helped reinforce the “seductive truth” (Vallentin 2012, 23) that resource development is critical for the social betterment of Aboriginal Australians. These specific spatial imaginaries were intended to legitimise the actions of proponents, and effectively portray them as a responsible “development agent” (Blowfield 2012, 414).

However, in evoking these frames, the strategy effectively marginalised other voices that questioned this modern ideology of resource development, and avoided a deeper conversation about issues and impacts. In addition to those discourses identified in this thesis, Taylor (2006) suggests there are numerous examples of significant grass-roots efforts at local economic participation throughout the West Kimberley. These spatial sensibilities were also further supported by the absence of political will to explore the collective number and nature of jobs created through cultural tourism and conservational economies (Taylor 2006). In presenting the Kimberley as a problem space, effectively undifferentiated across the region, and in spite of important local differences, the James Price Point case tacitly transformed into an imposed remedy and fed the abovementioned “seductive truth” (Vallentin 2012, 23).

In addition, the research findings illustrated how the Kimberley was framed as a ‘regional’ spatial scale, constructed in relation to the costs and benefits of the development, with its size being regularly invoked as a point of comparison with the ‘local’ scale of the precinct, and of the environmental impacts of its development (Wesley and MacCallum forthcoming). With the intensity of these spatial metaphors, there seemed to have been an intentional political strategy to downplay the impact of what had been regarded as the largest LNG precinct in Australia’s history, and legitimise the proponents’ viewpoints. It is therefore suggested that in the James Price Point case, the strategic use of the Kimberley as a regional scalar unit had worked against any engagement with the local spatial context; in effect, the regional scale became a discursive boundary between the State Government’s framing of CSR and the local experience of it (Wesley and MacCallum forthcoming)

The research findings also effectively captured the way Woodside and the State Government conceived CSR as an “exogenously given flat world, the uniform plane of August Lösch (1954 [1940])” (Merriman *et al.* 2012, 7). For all the critical CSR factors – Aboriginal development, social cohesion and environmental protection – it was possible to identify substantial flaws with this ontology and scale. The potential impacts of the proposal conceived by industry and the State Government were in simplistic and abstract terms, within the realm of common sense, which aimed to serve elite economic interest over those of other stakeholders. This was demonstrated in the stark contrasts between local expressions of spatial imaginaries in Broome and further afield on one side and those of Woodside and the State Government on the other. For example, the way James Price Point was represented as ‘just’ another beach within a very large region, is in specific contrast to James Price Point as socially and culturally connected with people, not only through Aboriginal heritage (such as the song cycle formalised in the Lurujarri Heritage Trail), but also as a symbol of the non-industrialised landscapes which attract people to Broome and the Kimberley (Wesley and MacCallum forthcoming).

The chosen location of the precinct reflected, for some locals, a failure to gain a social licence, with this disconnection highlighting considerable flaws in the dominant characterisations of CSR. Moreover, the way that Woodside and the State Government framed CSR using an absolute spatial sensibility subsequently exposed an incompatibility in understanding what a place really *means* (in a spiritual, cultural, historical and recreational sense): that is, a space of relational unfolding (Harvey 2004). This revealed a critical deficiency of value-driven CSR in failing to include a spatial sensibility to the local context of engagement. These spatial frames also shaped the way stakeholder management was practised, in particular, by indicating those stakeholders prioritised as important. For example, by negotiating only with Native Title claimants, stakeholder management was based on an absolute spatial sensibility, where land ownership took precedence over a more complex broader social-cultural connectivity. Therefore, this discussion indicates that for CSR to be successfully received it needs to engage with local spatial imaginaries.

In following these considerations, questions about how spatial sensibilities were evoked was also raised. In the James Price Point case, resource development

was routinely framed as a ‘panacea’ for regional economic growth, but, amongst the ‘who’, ‘what’, ‘where’, ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions identified in Chapter 5 and 6, the ‘where’ appeared to be a key variable. In other words, the application of CSR was shown to vary considerably between the north and south of WA. In the example of a resource development proposed for Margaret River in the southern area of WA, and its failure to gain approval due to its potential impact on environmental and tourism values of the region, this decision seemed to indicate a favourable bias toward communities in the south over the north of WA. This appeared to be the result of class-based and electoral significance of these respective regions. As a consequence, cultural, spiritual and environmental connections and impact on Kimberley tourism could be sacrificed for the betterment of an economically espoused liveability.

8.6 Lived CSR Experience

The case demonstrated a complex state of play in regard to what constituted a beneficial outcome. There was neither a homogenous group in support nor opposition. The support for, and opposition to, this project reflected various ideological positions that spoke of the role of business, the role of government and what CSR actually meant, which contributed significantly to how CSR was experienced. For some, the opportunities delivered to Aboriginal people in the Kimberley as a part of the agreement (jobs, business support, housing, education) were far more significant than the potential social, cultural, ecological and economic impacts on James Price Point and Broome. For others, the trade-off to the land and waters of James Price Point was too great. For another set of stakeholders, their basis for opposition was about where this development would lead to and its connection with the wider Kimberley tourism brand. Some residents, Kimberley Traditional Owners and celebrities also questioned why GJJ Traditional Owners were required to sell their land to receive essential services. These considerations reflected a series of ideological characterisations embedded within CSR.

The analysis described the combined abilities and power of Woodside and the State Government to undermine the cohesiveness of community, and to have a direct impact on local ways of living. There were several discourses revealed in the

findings, in which Woodside and the State Government had demonstrated an apparent lack of appreciation for the local context. This was also reflected in the explanations provided by some community members; especially, a perceived disregard for the community's 'social' context – their emotions, concerns about sense of place, liveability, economic tradition and wellbeing. Managing the negative impacts, whilst key to a social licence to operate, was merely an implied feature of CSR.

Evidently, the 'licence to operate' concept was narrowly defined around legal and economic terms. It was a legal requirement to negotiate and gain the support of GJJ Traditional Owners, but not critical to gain a social licence from the wider local Broome community. This demonstrated how CSR can be at risk of becoming merely a symbolic tool to achieve or secure a legal licence to operate (Argandoña and Von Weltzien Hoivik 2009). Moreover, the research findings suggested an apparent alliance between Woodside and the State Government which significantly contributed to a negative lived experience for some locals. When the State Government acted to achieve desired political outcomes, there was a strong sense of bullying and force applied to GJJ Traditional Owners and the Broome community. Opponents gained very few opportunities to voice their concerns, resulting in numerous legal challenges, protest demonstrations, and attempts to influence the direction of the process at the Federal level.

Yet, a core CSR principle should provide for proponents to gain genuine engagement through a variety of means. These include strong consultation and facilitation processes, building trust and community partnerships, undertaking rigorous impact and risk analyses including comprehensive mitigation plans, and sharing of benefits including local employment, job training, community development and poverty alleviation strategies (Bebbington 2010; Jenkins and Yakovleva 2006). In this regard, Woodside and the State Government demonstrated a weak form of CSR orientated solely toward securing their license to operate. It seemed that CSR strategies were only implemented on the basis of meeting minimal conditions for project acceptance (Campbell 2007).

Moreover, the findings suggested that by using Aboriginal groups as the primary beneficiaries, Woodside, the State Government and the KLC created

significant ethical dilemmas for GJJ Traditional Owners. The ultimatum was delivered: trade culture and country for social and economic ‘hope’; the alternative was bleak and there was simply no other opportunity. In effect, a wedge was placed between and among GJJ Traditional Owners and local communities who in part were either for or against the development, thereby increasing tensions. Evidently, there were attempts to isolate the opponents, particularly Goolarabooloo Traditional Owners, using the existing social fractures created as a result of competing Native Title land claims. Accordingly, there had been the realisation that a few key actors were determining the future of Broome and the Kimberley, while the wider Broome community was left with little opportunity for meaningful, constructive participation in the process. The strategy was problematic; in the pursuit of gaining a social licence to operate from one segment of the population, while sidelining those opposed, there was a failure in the altruistic and moral sense of CSR.

Moreover, the process set in place showed that once a decision had been made at the corporate and government level, the project would have proceeded regardless unless deemed unprofitable, as in the case of Woodside’s recent withdrawal. This is supported by the CSR discourses that argue that any impact, consequence or fallout can be mitigated or managed, even if it is not supported by an adequate impact analysis. In other words, local community impacts are seen as ‘collateral damage’ when projects are of State and National significance. While the ‘win-win’ argument of CSR had a strong presence in the discursive space in the James Price Point case, there was no acknowledgement of, or consideration for, the impacts the process had, especially in the case of divisions among families. It seemed that the recent corporate decision not to proceed with James Price Point left a trail of social problems, for which Woodside had no legal, but arguably moral responsibility.

8.7 Corporate Social Responsibility Scholarship: Where We Are and Where We Are Heading?

The CSR concept generally bespeaks a certain type of relationship between business and society, yet the research findings suggested that the government sphere

plays a critical role in its construction and experience. In an ideal world, there could be unlimited possibilities in the way CSR unfolds at the level of the political economy, in which industry, community organisations and governments collaborate toward the pursuit of common interests and benefit sharing (Blowfield 2005a). However, CSR was shown to be a complex battlefield driven by competing claims of ethics and morality, and more importantly, ideology, which in the James Price Point case served to ‘hamstring’ its potential. The findings in this thesis also suggest that CSR functions as a collation of interactions, forces and flows, and not just as a corporate instrument. In fact, managerial discretion seems to have less impact on the way CSR is constructed and experienced than the “social, political and economic framework within which human life takes place” (Gray *et al.* 1996, 47) that constitutes the political economy of CSR.

At this macro level, the proposed development at James Price Point revealed some highly significant structural features in the construction of CSR in WA, which led to a fractured CSR experience. The findings therefore respond to Blowfield and Frynas’s (2006) call for a better understanding of how ideology structures the possible field of actions within CSR. The ideological characterisation of CSR in this case raised some highly significant issues, with the instruments, agents and objectives defining the CSR construct. This also led to critical questions about CSR: what does it actually mean? In fact, using the James Price Point case, raises the question as to whether any such CSR currently exists? Of course, there are numerous examples of companies ‘doing good’, but can CSR be conceived as anything more than an injection of corporate capital and the resulting economic benefits? The prevailing belief apparently promoted by the State Government that jobs and economic opportunities created by business constitute a sufficient form of CSR has significant implications for the debate about modern CSR. Both Jenkins (2005) and McMurtry (2009) raise the dangers of seeing the economic impact of business solely through a CSR lens, which reflects the bottom ‘economic’ level of Carroll’s (1999) pyramid of responsibility. Carroll’s (1999) pyramid reminds us that CSR is inherently a question of ethical practice and discretionary contributions. However, in Australia and WA especially, such an economically driven characterisation of CSR strongly prevails.

The seductiveness of this economic constitution for CSR is most effectively demonstrated within the field of international relations, where the international development literature has much to offer for understanding the James Price Point case. This is in part due to the reflection that various communities in the northern areas of WA are in extreme poverty and possess various social problems and WA is as dependent on foreign direct investment (FDI) as any other developing country. There are also strong parallels between the case and the most seductive of ideologies currently shaping the CSR landscape in the international field, in which business is conceived as a tool for poverty alleviation (Blowfield and Dolan 2008). Similarly, the case is shaped by a discursive space that has focused on the ethical welfare of Aboriginal Australians, shown to be living in abject poverty with little opportunity for advancement. The development of the LNG precinct became the morally defensible action. We can also identify similarities between the case and the international development literature in the way the private sector is framed as a “development agent” (Blowfield 2012, 415). This frame can be identified within the discourses of both Woodside and the State Government, in turn underscoring the need for a continued debate about the politicisation of CSR.

The prevailing development ideology in WA strongly supports resource sector expansion, and so this brand of CSR continues its cycle. As Blowfield (2012, 415-416) suggests, there is a critical difference between business as a “development tool” and business as a “development agent”, the latter being a core principle of CSR. While it was beneficial to frame proponents as “development agents” (Blowfield 2012, 416), the recent commercial decision not to proceed at James Price Point, preferring instead the commercially favourable floating LNG option, reflects a business-as-usual approach. This is despite recent stakeholder concerns, demands and pressures for what is considered morally right, especially by chief negotiator Wayne Bergmann. This decision highlights how companies’ responsibilities remain a virtue of traditional management principles, rather than of social development objectives, despite the routine claims insisting otherwise (Utting 2007).

Thus, while the social development argument is evoked regularly in the context of CSR, there are substantial limitations with its practice. The foundations of CSR, derived from value-based concepts such as genuine and meaningful

engagement, strong community partnerships, rigorous impact and risk analyses and management plans (Bebbington 2010; Jenkins and Yakovleva 2006), were shown to be of less significance. There are numerous normative calls in the literature that suggest CSR must reflect the local context of operation (e.g.: Burja and Mihalache 2010). The findings indicate that its current deficiencies relate to how these spatial sensibilities were framed. For CSR to be successful, it needs to be shifted from absolute to relational understandings and taking a view of place as something socially, culturally, historically and emotionally connected. From this understanding, a site for resource development becomes a place of potential connectivity and importance for local communities. Therefore, values congruence – an implicit feature of CSR – was absent.

A critical question emerges from these findings: why have these aspects of wellbeing and liveability been dismissed in this context? Blowfield (2012) suggests that the seductive truth that business is good for poverty alleviation is firmly embedded within the neoliberal development agenda. The findings also pointed to a strong and persuasive neoliberal governmentality operating across scales. We saw how this had the most impact on the CSR space, in the way ‘maintaining liveability’ – as an implied factor of CSR – was defined through an economic lens. As a result of the neoliberal agenda, CSR exists only in an economic form, and consequently is used as a way to advance global capitalism. In the James Price Point case, CSR discourse was so normalised that anyone challenging it was deemed ‘immoral’ and ‘unethical’, in denying Aboriginal people the right to economic emancipation.

Another important consideration is how CSR scholarship and the hegemony that is the business case of CSR have perpetuated these ideological barriers. Reputation management – a key principle of the business case for CSR – seemed to emerge as a striking feature of the discursive space surrounding the James Price Point case. Woodside effectively used these discourses to demonstrate their corporate conscience, in effect, “moralis[ing] the economic purpose of business” (Vallentin 2012, 22).

Vallentin (2012) also highlights the attraction of this brand of CSR for government in making CSR policy. In WA, we saw this effectively align the State

Government's strong economic desires with the interests of continued resource expansion, thereby showing how the economic is aligned with the social. A further seductive economic rationalisation of CSR was identified in the way it connected to the welfare of Aboriginal Australians. This implied that challenging these positions would be unethical. Furthermore, the negative social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts were downplayed. As Vallentin (2012, 22-23) argues:

It stands as a self-assured and unapologetic take on the positive prospects of merging responsibility with value creation, competitiveness and growth while downplaying adverse effects.

Similarly, the ethical theories that constitute CSR are also critical to evaluating how and why CSR is constructed and experienced in a certain way (Blowfield 2005a). The findings identified the workings of utilitarian teleology as the dominant ethical principle employed to rationalise the construction of CSR, which as Blowfield (2005a) suggests is also a function of neoliberal philosophies. With a dominant economic rationalist lens framing CSR, social concepts such as liveability, sense of place and equality were not rationalised. Of course, these structural features are also reflected in the roles taken by the State and Federal Government in managing CSR. Political economy and institutional theorists of CSR tell us that CSR 'plays out' in varying ways in different politico-economic contexts. The research findings suggest that these ways are influenced by the kind of neoliberal agendas embraced, and also, other embedded truth regimes. In this thesis, the discourse that the resource sector is critical for Aboriginal people, alongside the belief it will bring unequivocal benefits, proved particularly persuasive. As a result, there was no real meaningful space for a discussion about the social, economic, cultural and ecological impacts posed by the LNG precinct, or alternative developments.

While institutional theory also demonstrates the workings of the 'system' operating within CSR, the insights about technologies of power, regimes of truth and spatial sensibilities provided by the theories of governmentality and spatiality offered critical insights. Power asymmetries were identified between major stakeholders that subordinated those in opposition. As Banerjee (2007) remarks, CSR scholarship needs to have a greater focus on the way power 'plays out' between major stakeholders, with the James Price Point case suggesting that the process was highly

significant in contributing to fractured CSR experiences. Freedom was narrowly constrained, exposing the dominance of economic interests over societal ones. Given that an inherent neoliberal logic operates within WA's politico-economic context the constitution of CSR is dominated by economic rationalism. This situation further influences stakeholder management and how priority stakeholders are identified.

Wood and Jones (1995) argue that stakeholder theory is critical to understanding the structural features of how business engages in society. Two schools of thought emerge from within stakeholder theory. The normative argument holds that stakeholders should be identified based on moral or philosophical principles, rather than legal ones (Evan and Freeman 1983; Clarkson 1995; Berman *et al.* 1999). The instrumental position suggests that there are some 'positive' outcomes for engaging in stakeholder management (Jones 1995), and this underpins the corporate social performance model (Jawahar and McLaughlin 2001). From this position, Jawahar and McLaughlin (2001) consider that corporations should only engage with those stakeholders who have a critical business function. Blowfield and Frynas (2005) suggest that this also reflects a neoliberal value set, and direct comparisons can be made in the way Woodside and the State Government engaged only with those 'critical' stakeholders, as defined by law, for business success.

In this thesis, the research findings have demonstrated spatial sensibilities that have implications for the descriptive theory of stakeholder management, concerned with how stakeholder theory actually 'plays out' (e.g. Mitchell *et al.* 1997). The State Government and Woodside employed effective spatial sensibilities that included stakeholders, based on legal rights, while excluding those with local, social or cultural connectedness from the negotiation process. This was problematic as it exposed Woodside and the State Government to negative attack. For the future of CSR research, it is suggested that stakeholder theory would benefit from reflection upon spatial sensibilities in order to remain a primary driving force within CSR theory and practice.

From reconstructing the lived experience, there are some critical features to be learnt about what CSR actually means. The case demonstrated that, from a community perspective, CSR appears to be underpinned by an application of values,

the management of negative impacts, and an open and honest engagement of costs, risks and benefits. However, community based interpretations were incompatible within a politico-economic system that privileged economic interests over social ones, and social interests framed in economic terms. Thus, the desirable values-driven brand of CSR continues to be shaped by structural barriers at the level of the political economy. Moreover, while discretionary and philanthropic aspects are components of CSR (Carroll 1999), the findings revealed strategic and ethical implications associated with its application. The analysis showed how Woodside's use of sponsorship and grants contributed further to the tensions and divisions. This was especially the case when these tactics were perceived by some local residents as strategic mechanisms intended to silence community opposition.

As a consequence, this analysis challenged the 'win-win' philosophy that underpins CSR. This is also evident in the view of some segments of the Broome community that the sacrifice of culture and country for the provision of jobs and economic opportunities does not constitute a 'win-win'. In effect, CSR in policy and practice has not ventured further than the bottom of Carroll's (1999) pyramid. It therefore continues to be critical for the continued development of CSR theory to deconstruct CSR and expose who really wins from its policy and practice. In the James Price Point case, it was more a win for the State Government and Woodside than it appeared to be for GJJ Traditional Owners and the local communities (those for and against) expressed in their negative reports of the process in both primary and secondary data. The James Price Point case has been powerful in showing how CSR continues to be a complex politico-economic construct. Evidently, it is not a simple corporate tool; rather it exists within an ideologically charged landscape and in context with heterogeneous communities, where CSR actors at the local scale also play a role in contributing to lived CSR experiences. As a result, the research findings challenge the unproblematic portrayal of CSR and the credibility of 'win-win' claims. Therefore, the CSR space becomes much more than a one-dimensional model between a corporation and its community. Through the theories of governmentality and spatiality, CSR has been shifted into a space of complexity, thereby bringing attention to the multitude of relations, forces and practices that constitute it.

8.8 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter served two principal aims. Initially, the chapter sought to reflect upon the key research questions outlined in Chapter 1 and drew together the research findings into a coherent whole. Problematic ideological and structural features and their qualities were identified, which fuelled and shaped a largely fractured CSR experience unearthed in the James Price Point case. By grounding these research findings into CSR theory, attention was directed to the validity of the ‘win-win’ philosophy, the unproblematic portrayal of CSR, the stakeholder management approach, ethical philosophies that underpin CSR and similar seductive truths that are also present within international development theory.

The next chapter will confront some pressing questions about the meaning of this added complexity with regards to CSR praxis and policy, and will additionally address further theoretical implications.

CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSION

9.1 Thesis Overview

In this thesis, the ‘spaces of CSR’ framework was developed to explore the discursive, political, historical, institutional and spatial construction of CSR at the level of the political economy, and to discover how these underlying forces and relations are realised in practice to create the lived CSR experience. This research aim was aligned with the research’s key objectives including the need to reflect upon the way the wider politico-economic environment informs and influences the reality of CSR, the contemporary socio-political construction of CSR by the Australian Federal and WA State Governments, and the need to ‘spatially anchor’ dominant political discourses within the resources sector and the consequences of such spatial sensibilities for CSR. The resultant framework, which drew together the concepts of governmentality and spatiality within a general political economy lens, proved useful in revealing the underlying dynamics behind the conflict and contest that surrounded the James Price Point case.

This research direction and, in particular, the ‘spaces of CSR’ concept emerged from calls within the literature for deeper reflection on the CSR construct and the need for critical insight into the system that conditions it. This framework, therefore, brought attention to the way ideology, prevailing assumptions, and power asymmetries embedded within the political economy shape and influence CSR (Banerjee 2007, 2008, 2010; Blowfield and Frynas 2005); factors which are arguably central to the CSR construct, but still poorly understood within CSR scholarship. In addition, the research was motivated by the seeming dearth of studies exploring the lived CSR experience or perspectives of host resource communities as the intended beneficiaries of CSR (Banerjee 2007). The ‘spaces of CSR’ framework, therefore, marks a significant conceptual shift from the literature dominated by the belief in the ‘win-win’ ideology and other CSR theories (corporate social performance and stakeholder management) that are underpinned by the neoclassical theory of the firm with its liberal premise (Scherer and Palazzo 2008).

In the ‘spaces of CSR’ framework, CSR was re-conceptualised using the theory of spatiality and situated within relational space, a foundation which also allowed for critical analysis and captured the complexity of CSR. Governmentality and spatiality emerged as interconnected and complementary theories that provided the foundation for a powerful exploration of CSR policy and practice. Both theories saw social phenomena – such as CSR policy and practice – as a collation of interactions, forces and flows which underpin the way problems are framed, decisions are made and solutions determined (Dikec 2007).

A critical realist philosophy, a qualitative research design, a case study methodology and a critical discourse analytical framework guided the research approach. Critical realism emerged as an implicit feature of this research project. This was demonstrated in the way the research project was guided by calls from within the literature to identify the impact of structural forces (i.e. ideology, power) on CSR (ontology over epistemology), and also in the way analytical attention was given to local experiences in relation to contextually specific structural forces (historical, discursive, political, institutional and spatial) across various scales (global, national, state, regional and local). It was also evident in the way the research went beyond mapping out key issues surrounding the James Price Point case to understand why certain events/issues emerged in the first place.

This thesis exposed the governmental rationalities, governmental technologies, spatial imaginaries and the lived CSR experience which spoke to the concerns at the heart of this research. Analysis showed how the system that surrounds WA’s resources sector is generally biased toward corporate and economic interests over social ones. This is the result of a well-established and hegemonic development ideology that can be traced back to the days of foundation of WA. As a consequence, the resource sector continues to strongly influence the State’s development policy and practice. A particular form of neoliberal governmentality was also shown to exist, realised within a range of governmental technologies: new institutional arrangements, reduction of ‘red tape’ and streamlining initiatives, the close relationship between government and industry, and the active role of the Government in the economic management of the State’s resources.

Various ‘seductive truths’ – such as the way Aboriginal development was defined by prevailing neoliberal values, leading to tacit acceptance of resource development as the socially responsible option – shaped the relations between resource communities, the State Government and industry within the CSR space in WA. Spatial imaginaries were also evoked in the James Price Point case, for example, by way of referring to the size of the development in comparison to the vast regional scale of the Kimberley. The social and environmental spaces were also both freely subjected to the prevailing utilitarian teleology held by the State Government and industry. The analysis also revealed a fractured CSR experience on the ground, highlighting how the State Government’s and industry’s pro-development and neoliberal agenda proved incompatible with the social and environmental concerns of some community segments and also how this agenda shaped Native Title deliberations. This research has thus shown how ideology, power and other structural barriers underpinned the constitution of CSR in WA and have contributed to a fractured CSR experience.

In the next section, the theoretical, practical and policy implications of this research will be explored.

9.2 Significance and Implications

9.2.1 Theoretical Contributions

The James Price Point case revealed a picture of “actually existing neoliberalism” (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 349) in WA as a space between the government and industry, in which a range of discursive practices presented resource development as intrinsically socially and environmentally responsible. The theoretical implications of this are important – the rationalities and technologies of government are central to the ‘spaces of CSR’, not only in the way it is conceived and practised by industry and government, but also in the way it is experienced on the ground. That is, CSR is an implicitly ideological and spatial phenomenon which needs to be understood in the context of the political economy. The ‘spaces of CSR’ framework has been developed to give theoretical momentum to this understanding

of CSR; one that places greater attention on the structural features shaping CSR policy and its realisation in practice.

The James Price Point case brought empirical light to the complicated reality of CSR. In doing so, it problematised the mainstream agenda that has overwhelmingly portrayed CSR in a positive light. Critically, it has drawn attention to the 'win-win' philosophy and its belief that CSR is good for business and thus good for the community; it suggested that what constitutes 'benefits' should be the subject of critical analysis. The case revealed how economic opportunities (i.e. jobs) were deemed sufficient as a form of social responsibility, and how social concepts such as liveability were defined in narrow neoliberal terms. This was shown to be a part of an economic orthodoxy that sets out the agenda for what responsible behaviour should look like and, therefore, reflects one of those taken-for-granted aspects which Shamir (2004, 2005, 2010) suggests are embedded within mechanisms and approaches to CSR.

Palazzo and Scherer (2008) write that taken-for-granted assumptions exist at the level of the political economy, in which the national, economic and legal context shapes corporate responsibility within societies. This research demonstrated that discursive, political, institutional, historical and spatial factors can play a significant role in the constitution of CSR. Through an examination of these forces that exist within the political economy, the dominant neoliberal pro-development discourse was shown to reflect structural barriers to the ideal practice of CSR in WA, especially in the way non-economic values were narrowly defined around economic values, and also how Aboriginal development was construed in neoliberal terms in the language of the markets.

The research, therefore, supports Brooks' (2010) conclusions that CSR took a wrong turn in its historical development and that, after nearly four decades of advances in research, CSR is still strongly Friedman-like. Back in the 1960s, Nichols (1969) suggested that profitability is the base from which all things good grow. It is a philosophy that is also reflected in Carroll's (1999) pyramid of responsibility and in the James Price Point case, where it was shown to dominate political and corporate thinking about CSR. The research also supports Blowfield's (2005b)

suggestion that contemporary CSR is shaped by capitalist values and assumptions, even when these values may be in conflict with those held by the local community. In the James Price Point case, key government and industry CSR actors had difficulty reconciling community tensions as the system facilitated a weak form of CSR. With this CSR brand, poorer people – such as Aboriginal people in the James Price Point case – will continue to be used as marketing objects by governments and business to justify commercial decisions (Blowfield 2005b).

Even while these findings have highlighted how power, ideology, truths and other structural features underpin CSR, there continues to be blindness in theory and practice to the risks and consequences of such narrow economic frames (Blowfield 2005b). If social and environmental justice continues to be framed in economic terms, corporations and governments should be held accountable for related goals. The impact of this CSR brand is strongly evident when exploring the community view point, where CSR is negotiated and materially experienced. Sites of resistance and struggle, as Banerjee (2010) notes, provide critical insights for the development of CSR theory, especially for the conceptual development of ‘effective CSR’ which is inclusive, in which stakeholders are identified on ethical, not economic or legal terms, and which confronts social, environmental and cultural processes and impacts in a genuine, open and meaningful way.

In summary, this research gives support for a more comprehensive and nuanced analysis of the relationship between business, community and government in different socio-political contexts.

9.2.2 Policy and Practical Implications

Normative strands of CSR theory highlight how a strong form of CSR needs to reflect the specific context of engagement (Lee and Carroll 2011). Based on the research findings it was argued that CSR policy and practice, whether of industry or government, must engage with local spatial imaginaries if it is to be convincing. This research also suggests that, by choosing to ignore these aspects, proponents (industry and government) risk continued confrontation with front line communities. In the case addressed here, the analysis strongly supports the case that the land and waters of James Price Point have cultural, spiritual and recreational significance, and that

consequently the site's development is deemed inappropriate by some segments of the local community. For CSR to be effective and meaningful, industry and government need to engage with these community differences.

The findings also highlighted how stakeholder identification was problematic. Even though this project had local, regional, state and national significance, the GJJ Traditional Owners were the only 'legitimate' stakeholders defined by Native Title Law. This meant the decisions were in the hands of a few, leaving some other members of the Broome community feeling 'bullied' and excluded from the process, with no choice or ability to negotiate. The only option for these people was public protest, which paved the way for national and international critical attention. This suggests that, to be effective, CSR needs to legitimise stakeholders based on broader than economic and legal terms.

CSR also needs to be convincing with regard to action plans and management protocols. The Premier's belief that Broome would not be adversely impacted could not be supported by any significant social impact plans or rigorous analysis. Therefore, the CSR discourses promoted by industry and the State Government were at risk of being seen as 'green and pink washing'. This also included the way Aboriginal people were considered the primary beneficiaries, where broader evidence, for example from the Pilbara, fails to convincingly support such claims. These overly aspirational CSR discourses, for some segments of the community, over-simplified the complexity of social problems plaguing Aboriginal communities. In pursuing this CSR message, industry and the State Government placed themselves in a very negative light, and the CSR messages themselves were seen by some as unethical.

The research also suggested that costs, delays and damage to reputation can arise when communities are in conflict over the fair distributions of benefits and impacts. This is implicitly related to the utilitarian teleology, which was seen to advantage some over others. Greater engagement with the concerns of minority groups is essential for a stronger form of CSR. The strategic use of corporate philanthropy and grants was problematic; this is not the first time that inconsistencies have been reported in relation to corporate investment in community

programs such as sponsorship and grants, nor to perceived or actual irresponsible operational practices (Campbell 2007; Nwete 2007). Strong forms of CSR need to pay less attention to sponsorship activities and more to engaging with and resolving community concerns. In the James Price Point case, for example, inadequate consideration of the development's potential impact on sense of place in Broome, tourism and the small business economy – community defined CSR factors – contributed to a fractured CSR experience.

These appeals for better corporate practice are common calls within the literature and, as the findings suggest, may give rise only to marginal change in the relations between government, industry and community. There still exists a system where “everyday politics within legislature, committees, and departments and agencies of government has come to be dominated by corporations seeking competitive advantage ... making it almost impossible for citizen voices to be heard” (Reich 2007, 210-211). The system is underpinned by economic values and skewed toward corporate interests, and will continue to be so. If Friedmanite values continue to shape present and future CSR, we must therefore change the “rules of the game” (Friedman 2009, 133). As Reich (2007, 214) explains: “it is illogical to criticize companies for playing by the current rules of the game; if we want them to play differently, we have to change the rules”. That is, significant change can only be achieved by way of legislative and regulatory change. This theme will be developed further below as it foregrounds an alternative research agenda for CSR.

9.3 Limitations and Future Research Directions

9.3.1 Absence of Theoretical Models with CSR

In developing the ‘spaces of CSR’ framework, this research chartered novel territory in the CSR field. However, this means that the research is open to critique, as it has lacked a theoretical and practical basis from which it could build, revise and compare. As such, an emergent ‘inductive’ style of analysis was undertaken in applying the theories of governmentality and spatiality to a CSR context, albeit guided by CSR scholars who have previously used the concept of governmentality and Foucault’s ideas (e.g. Vallentin and Murillo 2009, 2012). These theoretical

limitations were compounded further by the fact that the theories of governmentality and spatiality are complex constructs without self-evident methodological direction.

The research was also relatively broad in scope, analysing both the construction and the experience of CSR in the James Price Point case. While the thesis' attention to local experience revealed critical findings and connected well with the thesis' focus on construction, such an approach is inevitably open to criticism as it lacks depth on specific concrete issues. However, the author wanted to show how complex the CSR space is in a particular context when subjected to an analysis of various forces. Moreover, concrete focal issues were not identifiable at the start of the research process – and this subsequently led to an analysis grounded in data. As a consequence, the author chose to privilege breadth over depth, even with the risk of producing “un-Foucauldian” investigations (Rutherford 2007, 292). The limitations of governmentality also foreground the need to extend the analysis beyond the level of CSR policy and programs and connect with the local level.

Future research using the ‘space of CSR’ framework will help validate the theories’ scope of usefulness. It may be illuminating in future to focus in more detail on specific aspects, such as developing the spatial imaginaries within CSR further. Harvey’s ‘Matrix of Spatialities’ (Harvey 2006) may play a much greater role in such an analysis. While this research only focused on one intersection, the nine representations of space in Harvey’s Matrix could be the basis for further development of the ‘spaces of CSR’ framework.

9.3.2 Single Case Analysis

This investigation was conducted using one case study, which limited the inferences that could be drawn from the analysis and constrained theoretical generalisation to other contexts and countries. Eisenhardt (1989b, 1991) explains that while case study research is a powerful tool for theory building, “multiple cases” are especially effective in “create[ing] theory because they permit replication and extension among individual cases” (Eisenhardt 1991, 620). However, the single case of James Price Point was, in itself, highly complex and revelatory. The theories’ application to the case study proved powerful in revealing the institutional, discursive, political, historical and spatial forces underpinning CSR. Therefore, even

though this case was limited in terms of generalisability to other contexts, the findings were telling and had theory building significance. The ‘spaces of CSR’ framework could usefully be applied to different socio-political contexts, which would bring about greater understanding of the CSR concept. Future case studies employing this concept would provide the opportunity for comparative analysis and enrich the field.

9.3.3 Difficulty in Gaining Participants

In comparison to quantitative research, the findings were derived from relatively few interview participants. As data collection evolved, and the controversy surrounding the project escalated, it was increasingly difficult to secure the involvement of key players. Some State politicians and all Federal Labor politicians indicated that they were too busy to participate. Moreover, in Broome and the Kimberley, many key players refused to participate once they discovered the research pertained to James Price Point, while others failed to respond to repeated email and phone contact. Other key stakeholders were receptive and willing to participate, but for various reasons – media commitments, increasing interest by other researchers, as well as the controversial nature of the case – difficulties emerged arranging the interviews, either on the phone or in person. Cultural influences also played a role in coordinating meetings with GJJ Traditional Owners. However, where direct access to critical stakeholders was not gained, the considerable public commentary surrounding the James Price Point case meant that media releases and quotes from newspaper articles could be used to fill key analytical gaps. Overall, the combination of primary and secondary data sources proved productive, gave considerable insight into the issues, and allowed for the identification of repetition of discourses across genres. This methodological approach may be useful for further inquiries into controversial cases.

9.4 An Alternative Research Direction for CSR

In light of these findings and other cases that show disempowered communities being overridden by government and industry (see for example Brueckner and Ross 2010), a new research agenda for CSR has emerged. This

involves a shift away from corporate-led and government-orientated critiques to place host communities as the central pillar of analysis. A new agenda may be less about knowing the current state of play – there is considerable research evidence to suggest inherent systemic challenges for CSR – and instead may be more ‘forward-looking’, bringing attention to how host communities themselves might act to (re)shape CSR in their own terms and interests. Often, the capacity of poorer and weaker citizens (host communities against a powerful multinational and governments) to exercise their decision-making power and take control over their resources is limited, inhibited by perceived and actual “powerlessness” (Roy and Sideras 2006, 12). Such a new agenda may seek to empower those communities who have limited control over resources, processes and negotiations to mobilise politically and to re-construct the meaning and practice of CSR. The ultimate goal is to change the current direction of CSR discourse from a corporate-centred to a people-centred one, which reflects the hallmarks of empowerment, including self-strength and control, builds capacity to fight for one’s rights and enables host communities to actively shape decision-making processes. In effect, by doing so, the ‘empowered’ host community is better able to shape and guide relations with business and government.

While the ‘empowered’ citizen features as a central concept in this new CSR agenda, it is not in the same vein as that style of CSR which has gained much government support and significance since the 1960s (Cruickshank 1999). Foucault spoke of “technologies of citizenship” as strategies of empowerment, with the ultimate goal of government being the creation of a self-sufficient, autonomous and politically engaged citizen (Cruickshank 1999, 2). Throughout this theoretical and empirical research journey, the importance of the active and empowered citizen has featured centrally in neoliberal discourse. This kind of economic ‘empowerment’ is strongly informed by the principles of the market – often with structurally weaker citizens as its target – and seeks “to act upon others by getting them to act upon their own interests” (Cruickshank 1999, 68).

The kind of empowerment spoken about here is not one that seeks to empower the citizen to be economically emancipated, but to empower communities to strengthen their capacity for collective action to bring about positive outcomes and

change (Tsey 2009). Within this new CSR agenda, applied research may be directed to the ‘micro-level’, in which ‘how-to’ guides for communities are created to assist communities in managing relationships and negotiations with government and industry. Research at the ‘macro-level’ would, for example, draw attention to how communities can call for institutional reform and what shape this may take, as the foundation for a new and improved brand of CSR. According to Roy and Sideras (2006), institutional reform requires people’s participation in the decision making process as partners, with authority and control, and a greater focus on accountability of the state and regulatory agencies to the people for their policy decisions. Therefore, genuine reform will and can only occur if citizens demand it, and force corporations to abide by the rules – communities must be empowered to bring about this level of change (Reich 2007). This is critical as the findings of this thesis strongly suggest the need for empowered communities to demand and assert their preferred kind of CSR, which involves change at both the micro and macro levels.

9.5 Final Words

This thesis is the result of four years of conceptual and analytical endeavour; one that required learning a range of new sense-making instruments – governmentality, spatiality, critical realism and critical discourse analysis – with no prior background or exposure. While this task came with significant challenges, I hope you have enjoyed reading this thesis, as much as I have enjoyed facing those challenges.

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Appendix 1 Key Turns in CSR Scholarship

	Modernisation	Legitimisation	Transition	New Heights	Contemporary
<i>Historical period</i>	1950s	1960s to early 1970s	1970 and 1980	1990s- early 2000s	Late 2000- present
<i>Key themes</i>	<p>The idea of social responsibility was formalised.</p> <p>Its anthropogenic basis was established, where the notion of communities and welfare, not the natural environment was featured</p> <p>Business benefit was not raised.</p> <p>Emergence of criticism against the idea of social responsibility.</p>	<p>Period of increased legitimacy surround the social responsibility argument</p> <p>Continued macro-social focus</p> <p>Polarisation with free market arguments</p> <p>Enlightened self-interest emerged as a core argument</p> <p>CSR discussion were taking place in a profit maximisation era and focus of efficiency and performance drivers of the firm</p>	<p>The primary focus was on establishing theoretical paradigms that allowed the construct to evolve</p> <p>Focus on the implementation of CSR.</p> <p>Shift from responsiveness to performance</p> <p>Freeman's Stakeholder theory</p>	<p>Formal emergence of the business case for CSR.</p> <p>Formalisation of Stakeholder Theory as the conceptual underpinnings of CSR</p> <p>Movement away from concepts and definitions to empirics.</p> <p>Introduction of alternative themes that are support as well as challenge the basis of CSR</p> <p>Corporate Social Performance model grew in superiority driven by the search for a definitive way to measure the performance of CSR</p>	<p>Back to legitimising CSR and formalising a definition</p> <p>Criticising the notion for a lack of CSR paradigm</p> <p>Explosion of CSR definitions</p>
<i>Key scholars</i>	Bowen (1953); Drucker (1954); Levitt (1958)	Davis (1960, 1961, 1973, 1975); Frederick (1960); Davis and Blomstrom (1966, 1975); Walton (1967); Johnston (1971); Friedman (1962; 1970); McGuire (1963); Murphy (1978)	Ackerman (1973); Murray (1976); Frederick (1978) Preston (1975); Zenisek (1979); Sethi (1975)	Clarkson (1995); Swanson (1995); Wood (1991); Wood and Jones (1995)	Dunfee (2006); Henderson (2005); Sacconi (2006); Utting (2007)

Appendix 2 Various Strands of Political Economy

Theme of Interest		Authors
Comparative Political Economy	Regulatory and policy regimes Institutional Patterns of alternative models of capitalism	Mascarenhas (1999, 2002); Ünay (2011); Fiala (1992); D'Amico (2012); Campbell (2007)
Political Economy of the Environment	Focusing on sustainability Social and economic institutions reproduce existing patterns of social and economic life	Forstater (2004); Oates and Portney (2003)
Political Economy of a Company	Focus on ownership, governance and regulation. How it formed, existed, maintained? What do we mean by company? Whose interests does it serve? Do these give rise to different conceptions and if so, what implication does this have on the purposes of the company and the governance arrangements?	Payne (2005)
Political Economy of Development	Inequality, wealth and poverty Structures and systems involved in distribution of wealth	Dutt (2002); Adam and Dercon (2009)
International Political Economy/Global Political Economy	Changes in the international economy on political structures and groups and relations Globalisation – Extent and its impact Conditions in the international economy Interest Group activities Economic policy making	Ravenhill (2011); Cohen (2008)
Cultural Political Economy	Look at the complex interactions between economy, ideology, the state, identities and every day politics and cultural practices Materiality of social relations Interpretation of our self including the systems that encourage this Taken for granted 'economic imageries' that become institutionalized Seeks to expose the relations between meaning and practices Culture and politics are significant as a constitutive 'inside' in framing economies	Jessop and Sum (2006, 2010); Jessop (2004, 2009); Dumas (2011); Hudson (2008) Sayer (2001); Jessop and Oosterlynck (2008)
Critical Political Economy	Structure and relations of production structural and agential modalities characteristic of any particular period of history Material practices and collective mentalities Explores the relationships between the three spheres, among actors and institutions, as well as structural and discursive mechanisms of power that underlie that relationship. It problematises the issue of power and knowledge. Structures are essentially relationships between material capabilities, ideas and institutions and it investigates what is possible Focus on the contingencies, contradictions and contestations	Banerjee (2007, 2008); Bina (2006); Browning and Kilmister (2006)

Appendix 3 Interview Questions

- What comes to mind when you think of ‘responsibilities’ of corporations?
- How would you describe the current way resource companies in the North West exercise their responsibilities? Eg: are they doing enough protect the environment, cultural heritage, local communities?
- Federal and State governments play an important role in ensuring companies exercise their responsibilities (via policy, legislation, encouragements, state agreement acts), how would you describe the current role of the regulator? Is there too much involvement, or not enough? Who subsequently wins and who loses?
- What are your views on the proposed gas processing plant at James Price Point in the Kimberley?
- In the James Price Point project, how would you describe the role of the Federal and State Government and resource companies (Woodside, and other joint venture partners) in exercising their responsibilities? Who is seen to win and who loses?
- Additional miscellaneous question(s). This will relate to individual comments made by the participants in the public arena that require further elaboration/reflection.

Appendix 4 Research Information Sheet

Research Information Sheet

**The socio-political construction of corporate social responsibility:
An investigation into policy and practice in the Resource Industry in
the North West, Western Australia**

For further information (including
a copy of my doctoral proposal),
please contact:
anthea.wesley@cbs.curtin.edu.au
Mob: 0431 980 415



Hi,

I am a doctoral student at Curtin University seeking to better understand how the political environment influences the actions and behaviour of resource companies in the North West, of Western Australia.

I am particularly interested in the James Price Point gas processing plant and your opinions and experiences about the process.

This would take no more than 30 minutes of your time, and we would discuss issues such as:

- Federal and State government involvement in the resource development
- Interactions between government, business and community
- Industrialisation of the Pilbara and the Kimberley
- Social, local community and environmental impacts of mining activities
- Inclusion of minority views in resource development
- Issues, challenges, problems

I see this research as a tool for empowerment giving interested individuals a formal voice. With your involvement, we are better able to understand the political realm and its implications for proper corporate behaviour.

Each participant will be provided with a summary sheet of the findings.

Ethical Assurances

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Participation in this study is voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw without prejudice or negative consequence.• All information provided through your participation will be kept confidential• You will not be personally identified in any publication based on this research• You will have the opportunity to verify the accuracy of the findings before publication | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• There are no known or anticipated risks of participation in this study.• The data collected through this study will be kept for a period of 7 years in a secure location• This study has been reviewed and has received ethics clearance through the Office of Research and Development, Curtin University. The ethics clearance number is HR67/2011 |
|---|--|

For further information relating to ethical clearance, please contact:

Secretary of the Human Research Ethics Committee on (08) 9266 9223

Appendix 5 Resource Activity in Australia

The “Minerals and energy: Major development projects” image by Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics and Sciences 2011 is unable to be reproduced here due to copyright restrictions.

The “Minerals and energy: Major development projects” can instead be accessed via <http://data.daff.gov.au>.